THE ANTIQUITIES OF ORISSA

VOL. II

RAJENDRALALA MITRA

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INDIAN
STUDIES
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Rajendra Lala Mitra

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EDITOR'S NOTE

The second volume of *The Antiquities of Orissa*, originally published in 1880. is reprinted here for the first time. Like the reprint of its first volume, issued by us in July 1961, the present one is intended to be verbatim. The long Sanskrit quotations in the Devanāgarī script, where the author adds literal English translations of these, are avoided ; where any such quotation is considerd to be indispensible for the reader, a transliteration of it is given in Roman scipt. Page-beginnings of the original edition are indicated here in bold letters within square-brackets.

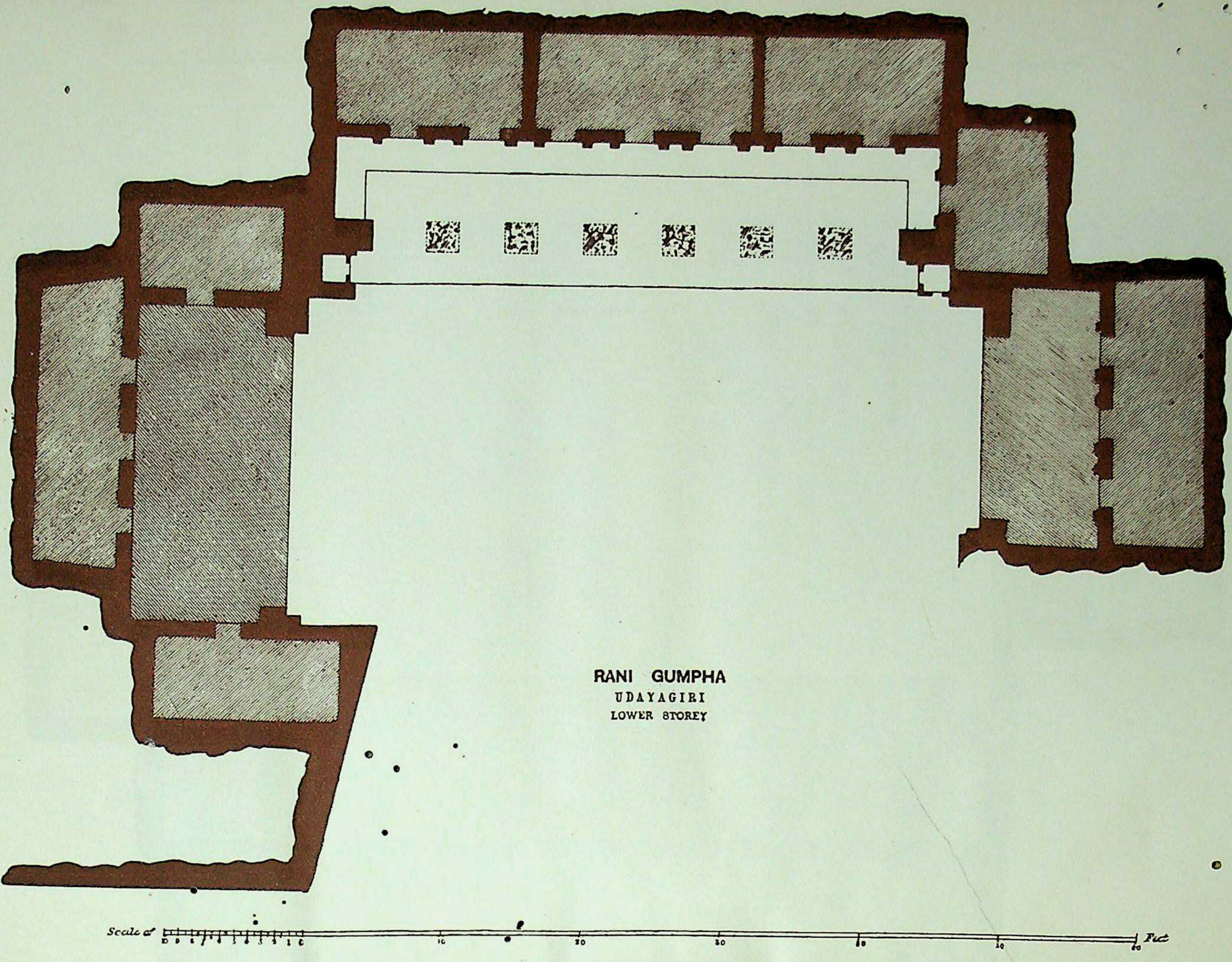
We owe an apology to the readers for not being able to reproduce all the plates of the original edition. The financial commitment for that would have been heavy. Besides, in the only copy of the book with which we were obliged to wark, some of the plates are too indistinct to be satisfactorily reproduced. There has, moreover, been another reason for the decision of using only selected plates in this reprint. A large number of the plates of the original edition were but full-view photographs of the Orissan temples. However much valuable these might have been for illustrating a pioneering work on Orissan art and archæology, the photographic technique has vastly advanced since the days of R. L. Mitra and much better photographs of the same temples are now easily available. So we saw little point in reproducing the rather obsolete photographs. In selecting the plates for reproduction here, we have of course tried to remain conscious of the special points of æsthetic and archæological importance which the author wanted to make with the plates.

As we felt at the time of issuing the first volume, we feel particularly happy to express our gratitude to the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, --with which the life and work of R. L. Mitra was so inextricably bound,—for offering us ungrudging help in all possible manners.

For reproducing the plates here we are thankful to M/S. Radiant Process, Calcutta.

Sri Ranendra Mohan Sinha has copied the illustrations of the text and Sm. Anjali Maitra has typed out the whole volume for the press. We cannot thank them enough.

Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya
Editor : INDIAN STUDIES : PAST & PRESENT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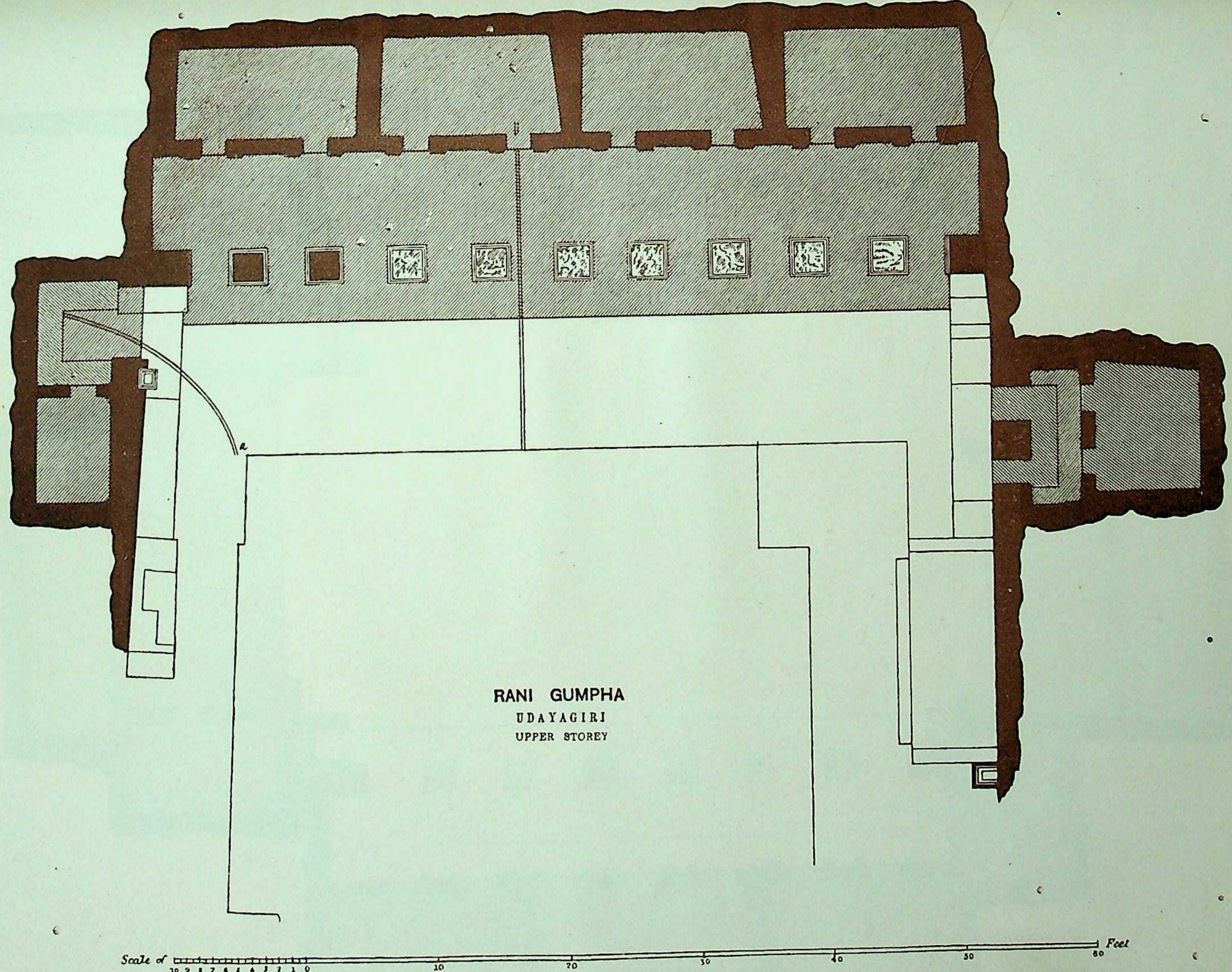
RANI GUMPHA
UDAYAGIRI
LOWER STOREY

PLATE II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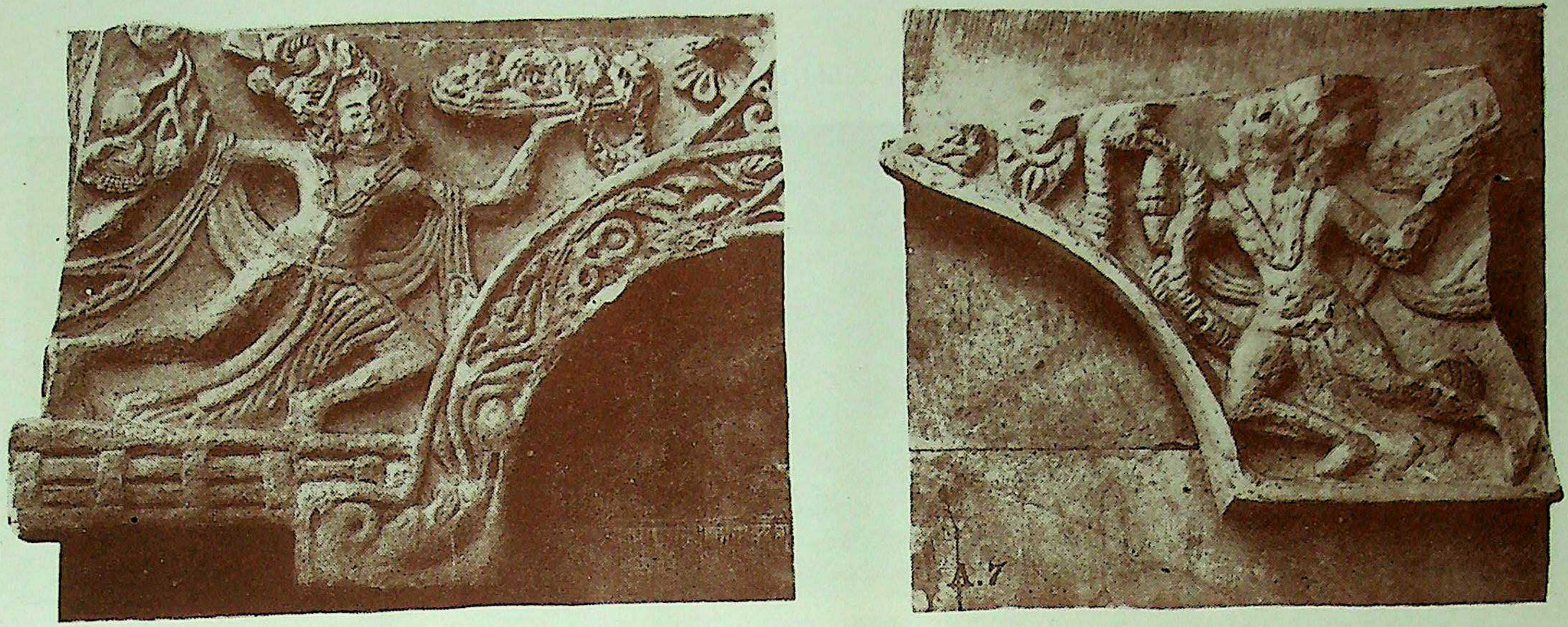
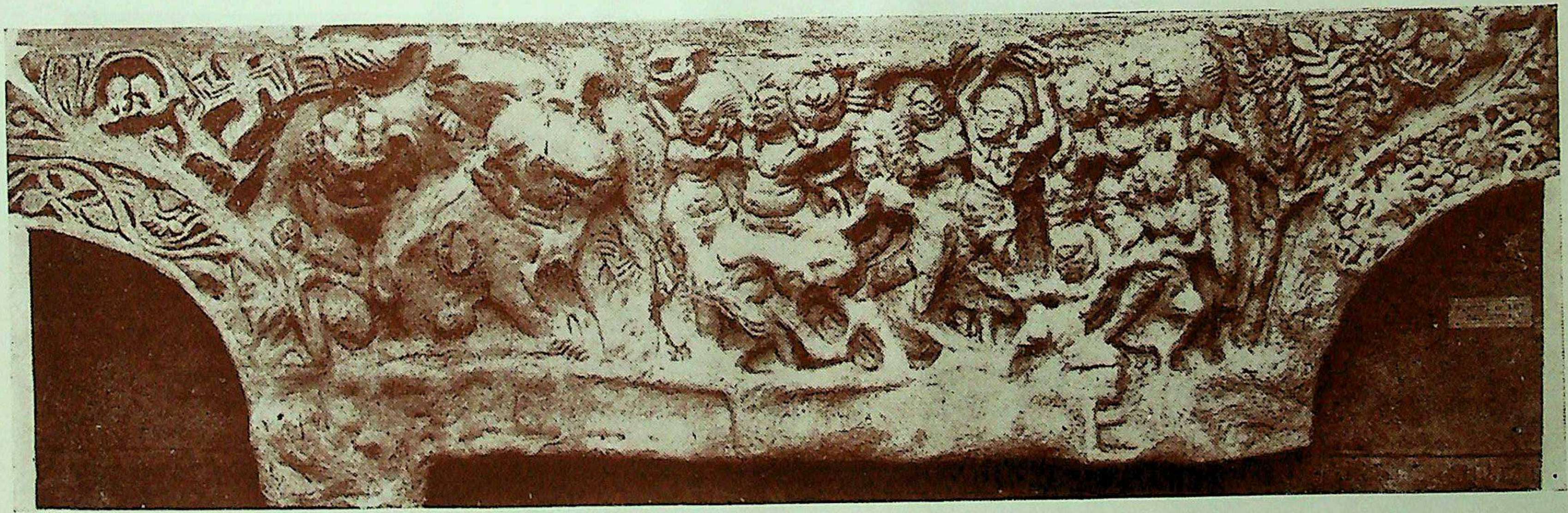


PLATE VI—PORTIONS OF FRIEZE IN THE UPPER VERANDAH OF THE RANI GUMPHA



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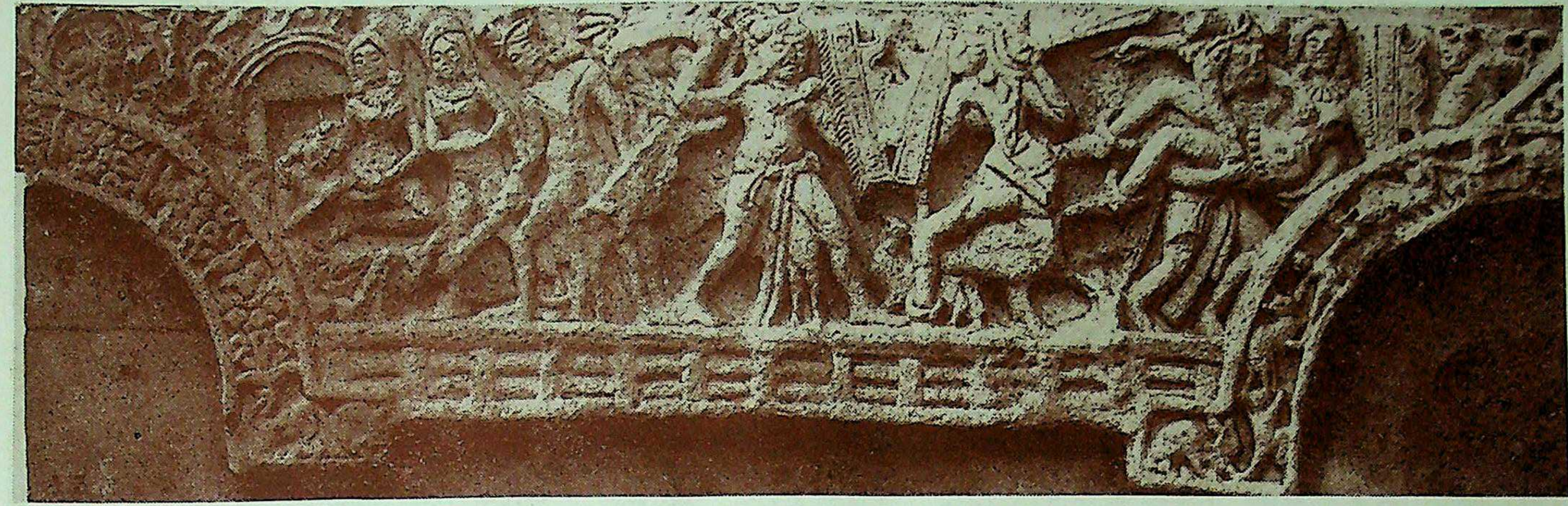

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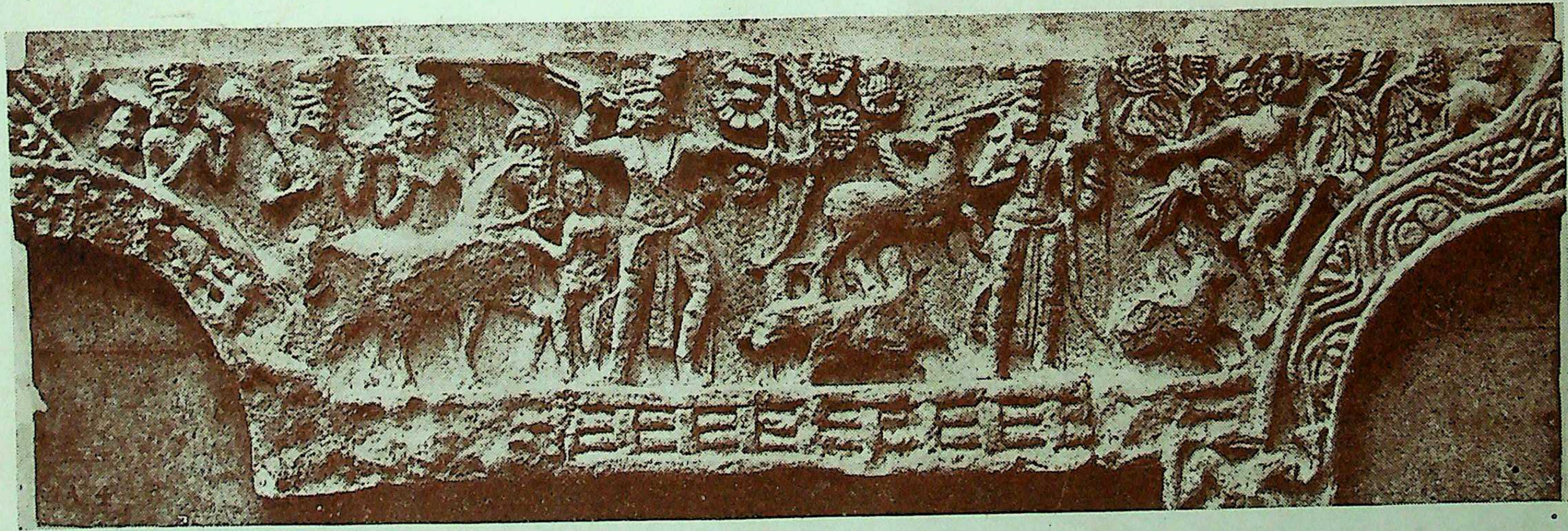

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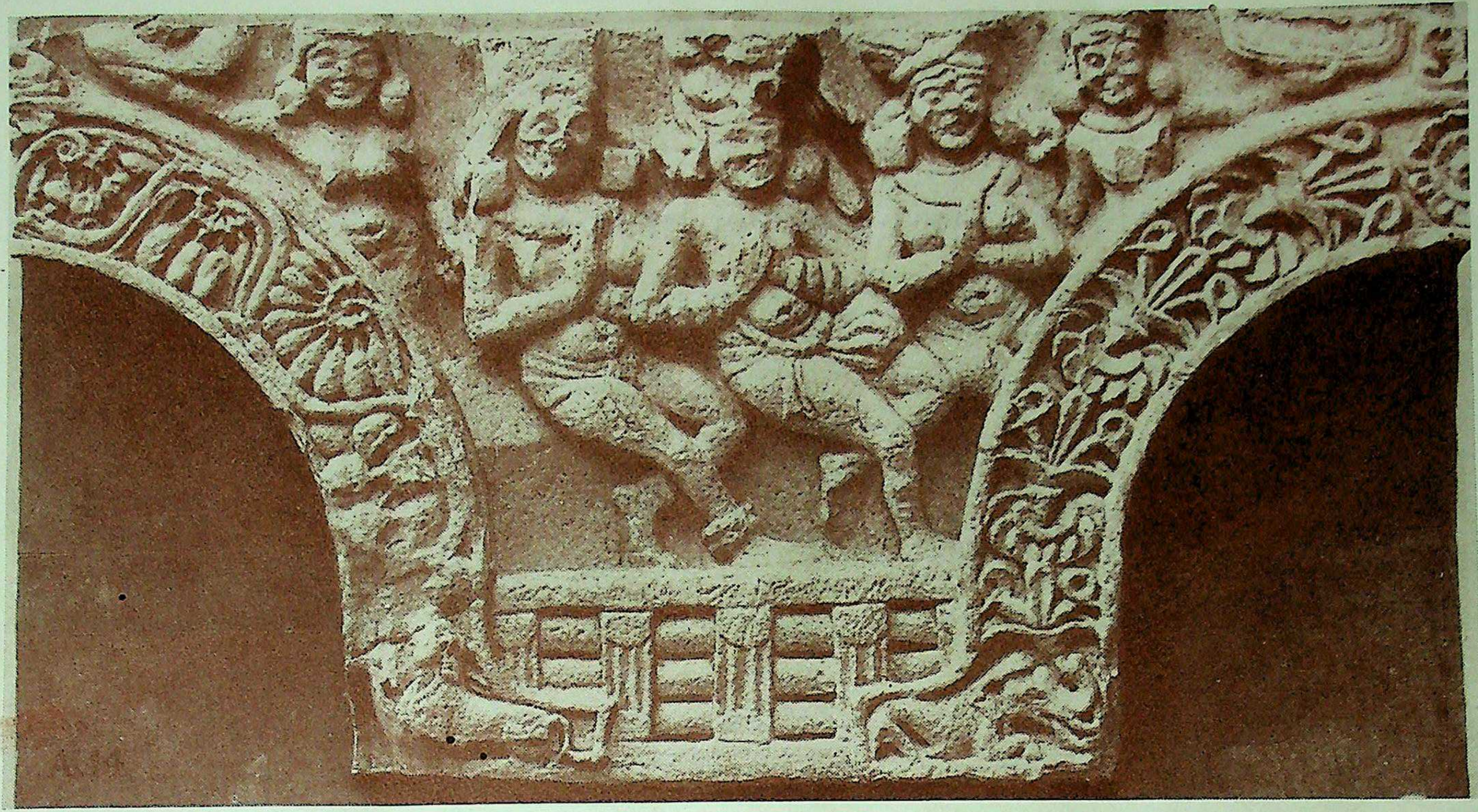

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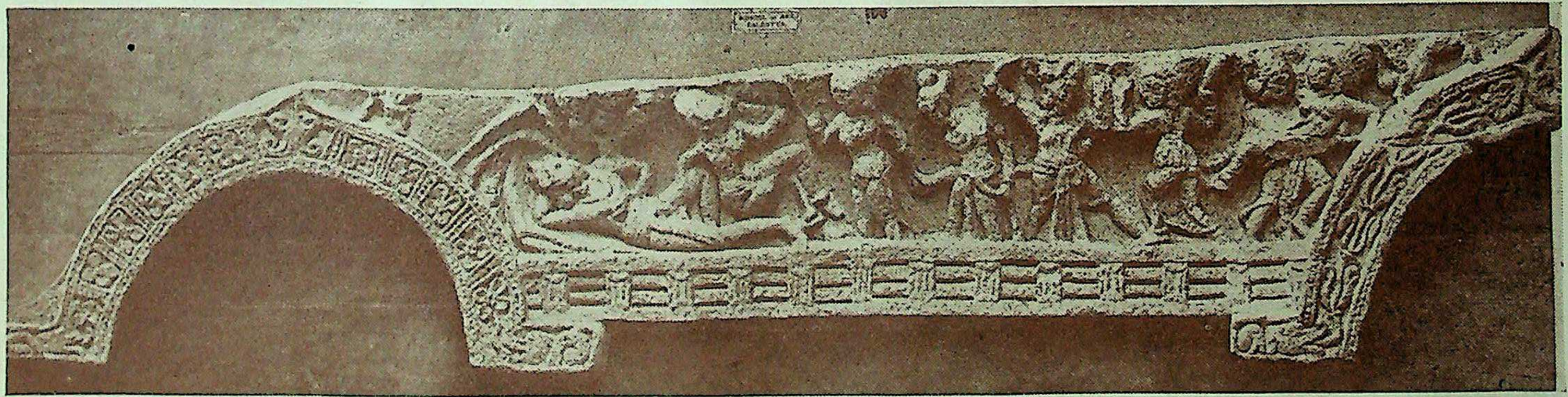

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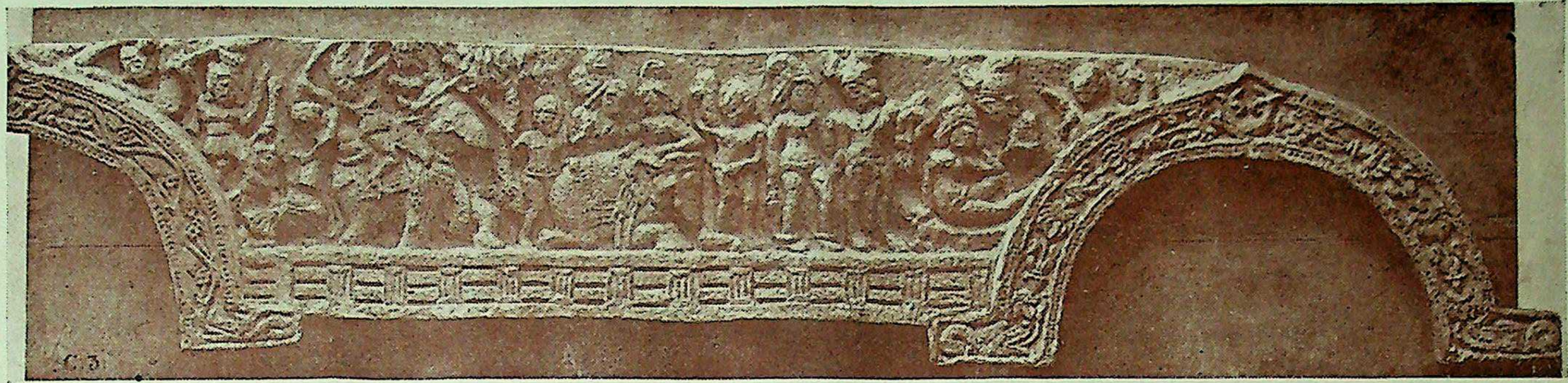

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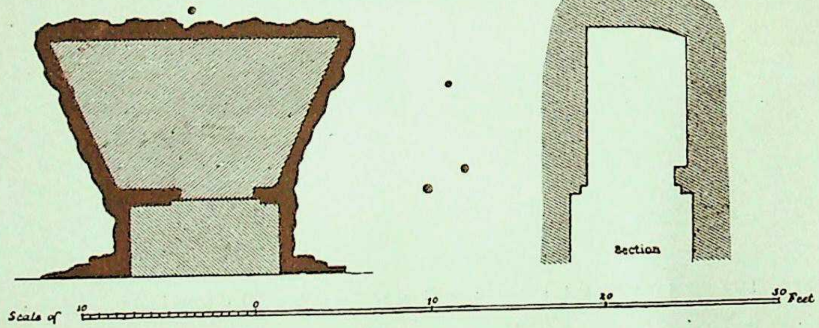
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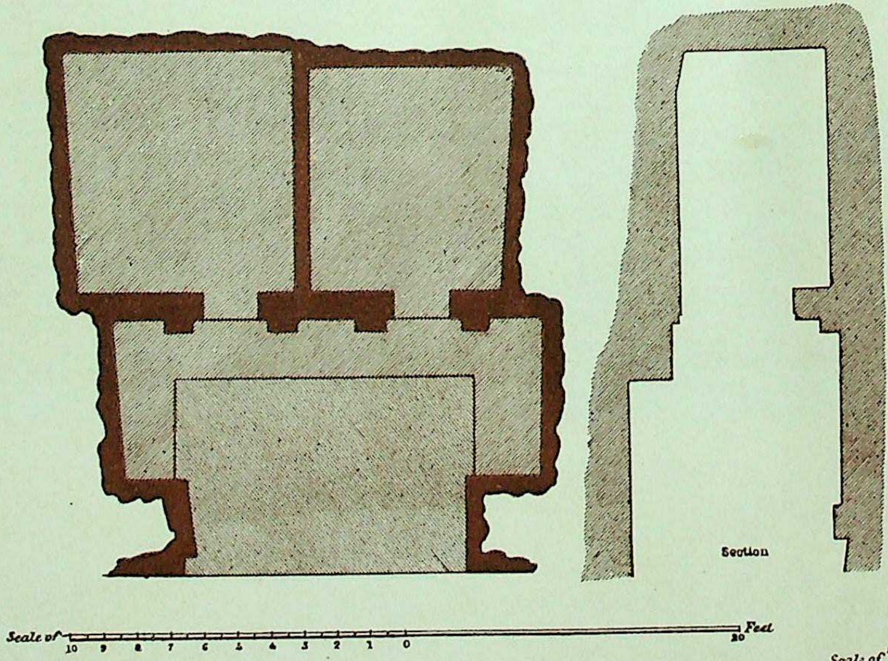
GROUND PLAN & SECTION OF THE JAYA VIJAYA CAVE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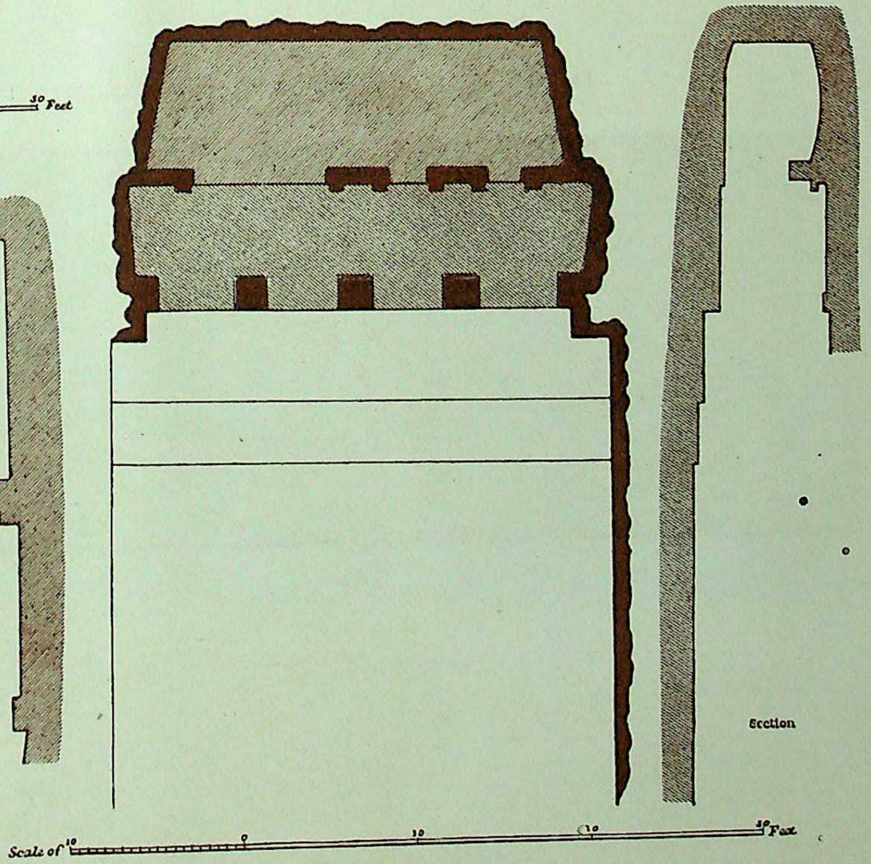
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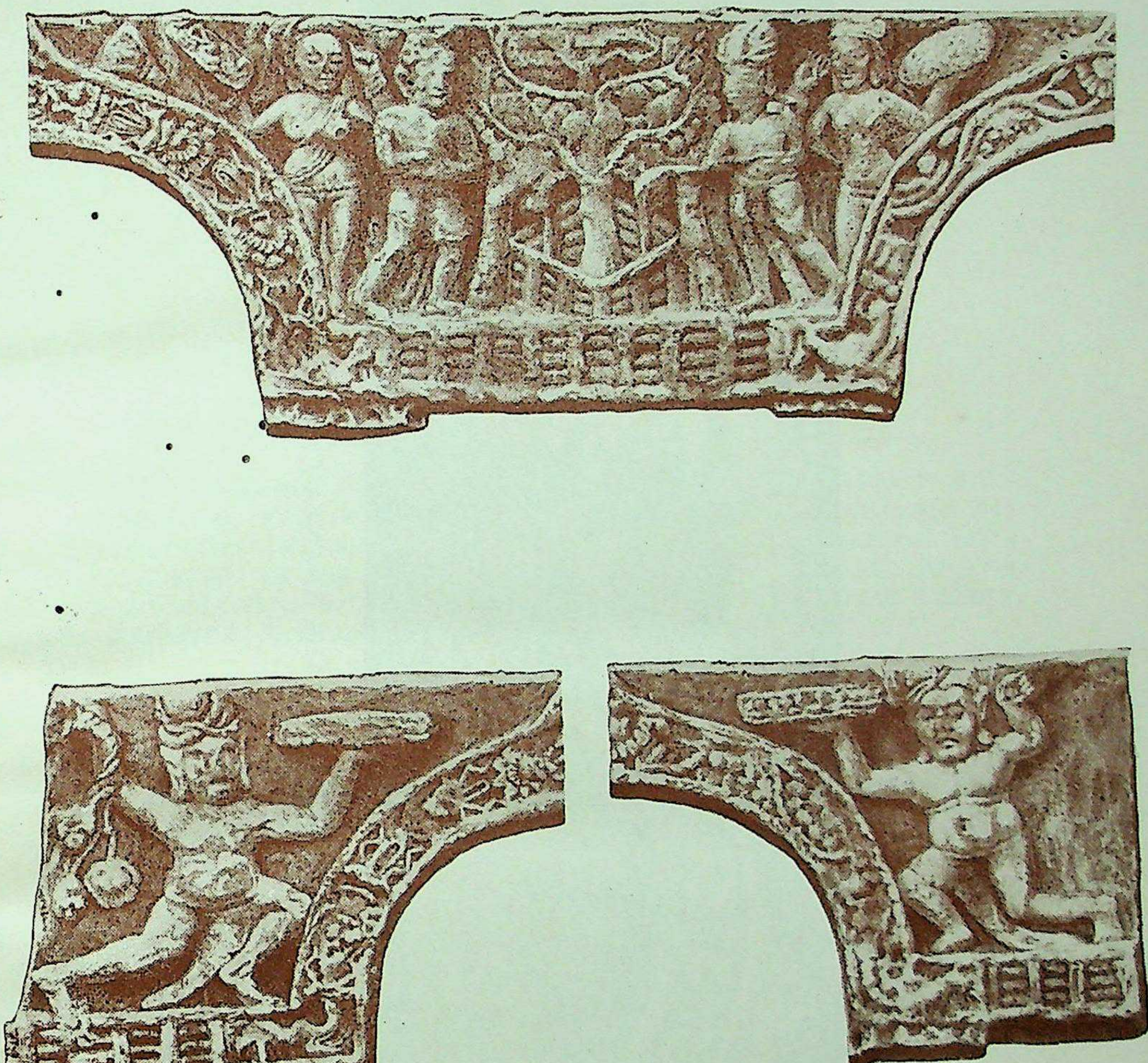
PLATE XVIII



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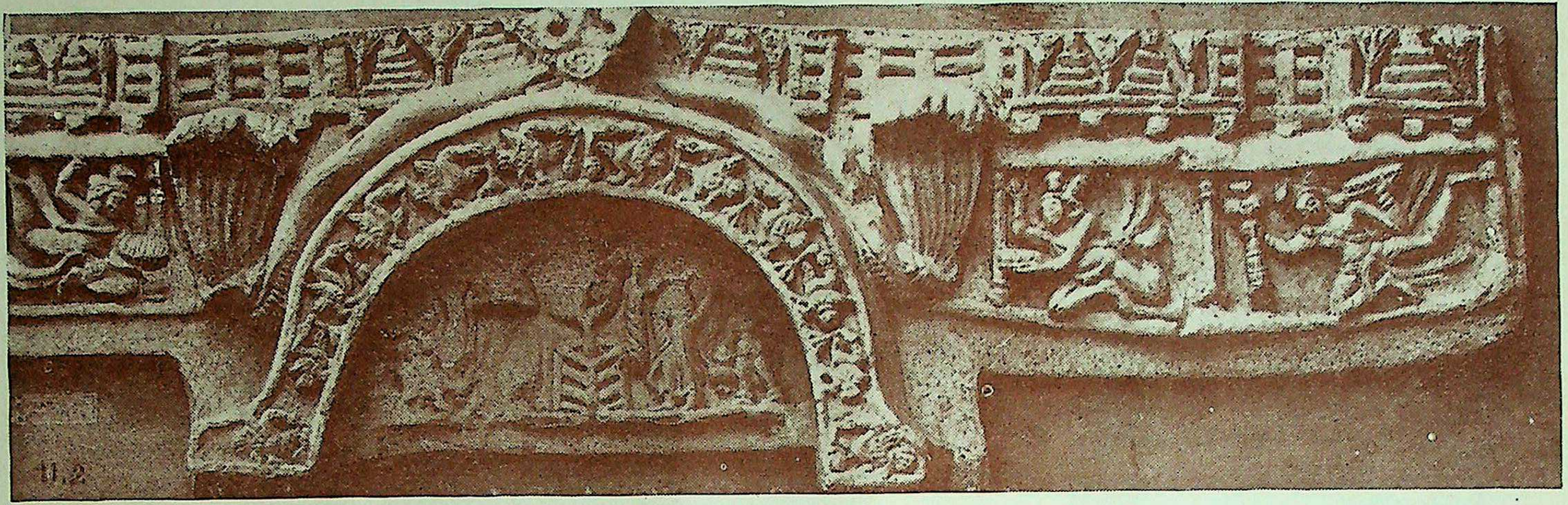

PLATE XXII—PORTION OF A FRIEZE FROM THE ANANTA CAVE : KHANDAGIRI

Original Title Page

THE
ANTIQUITIES OF ORISSA

By

RAJENDRALALA MITRA, LL. D., C. I. E.

HONORARY MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, AND OF THE IMPERIAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, VIENNA; CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE GERMAN AND OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETIES, OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, HUNGARY, AND OF THE ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF BERLIN; FELLOW OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF NORTHERN ANTIQUARIES, COPENHAGEN, ETC., ETC.

These are some of the relics of the past, weeping over a lost civilization and an extinguished grandeur.

VOL. II.

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CHAPTER—I.

KHANDAGIRI

Antiquities of the Khaṇḍagiri Hills.— Khaṇḍagiri Hills– their locale—general character—legend about their origin – route to them. Udayagiri Hill its general character. Rāni Naur,– its right wing,—its left wing,—its northern facade,– the frieze on its upper storey. Gaṇeśa Gumphā,– its frieze. Svargapuri. Jayāvijayā. Dvārkāpura. Gopālapura. Jambupura. Vaikuṇṭhapura. Pātālapura. Hāthī Gumphā'—its inscriptions. Pavana Gumphā. Sarpa Gumphā. Bhajan Gumphā. Alakāpura. Bāgh Gumphā. Urdhavāhu. Minor caves. Khaṇḍagiri Hill. Ananta cave Kālachandra's cave. Jain caves. Lalāṭendu Keśarī's Cave. Minor caves. Jain temple. Deva-sabhā. Dolmen. Akāśa-gaṅgā Tank. Religion of the Cave-dwellers. Age of the caves of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri. State of Architecture and Sculpture in Orissa at the time the caves were excavated. Dhavalagiri. Kośalagāng Tank.

The couutry to the south-east of Cuttack, on the right bank of the Mahānadī, down to the Chilkā Lake, is studded with a large number of low hills—outlying spurs of the great chain of the Eastern Ghats - cropping up on a plain of large expanse These hills consist mostly of gneiss ; but those which occur in the Pargannahs of Daṇḍimal and Domapārā are of sandstone, and the area they cover is fringed by a broad band of laterite. Some of the hills are of considerable length ; others are small, narrow and isolated. One of these, situated near the village of Jagmārā, in Pargannah Limbāi, stretching north and south, forms a semi-circular belt five miles to the north-west of the Great Tower of Bhuvaneśvara. It is indicated on the maps by the name of Khaṇḍagiri ; but the people in its neighbourhood assign different names to its four separate prominences. The north-eastern mound is called Udayagiri or "sunrise hill" ; the second, Khaṇḍagiri or "broken hill" ; the third, Nīlagiri or "blue hill" ; and the fourth, Dhavalagiri or "the white hill", the *Mont Blanc* of Orissa. The first two are separated by a break caused by unequal upheaval of the rock ; the fractured surfaces on the opposite sides being such that, if the furthest ends of the two hillocks could be tilted up, the opposing ends would coalesce and form one rock. The chasm is scarcely fifty yards wide in its broadest part, but at the base the two portions touch each other. This fracture has given its specific name to the second hill in question, and the generic name to the entire range. The separations between the second and the third, and the third and the fourth are indicated by slight depressions only.

General character of the Hills :—The belt is throughout well wooded. Pipal and other trees rising from the crevices of the rocks, and ferns and small shrubs in cracks, hollows and low sheltered places, where the disintegrated rock has left a layer of mould for their growth, envelope it in a pretty thick coating of verdure. But the most prominent and exposed surfaces are perfectly bare. Vegetation is also sparse and stunted on the plain to the east of the belt as far as Bhuvaneśvara, the laterite having in most places cropped up to the very surface of the earth producing a soil, barren, naked, and ungrateful. Nevertheless, there are here and there some large and umbrageous mango trees, and a few scattered patches of cultivation : around the village of Jagmārā topes of mango and bamboo and clutivated fields are plentiful. On the west of the belt, the country is also well wooded; and when I visited the place in the middle of November 1868, a large and smiling crop of paddy clothed the plain to the very foot of the hills.

The highest point of the Khaṇḍagiri Hill, on which in perched a modern Jain Temple, is 123 feet high, lat. 20° 15′ 50″ N. long. 85° 49′ 34″ E. The highest crest of Udayagiri is 13 feet lower. These heights have been ascertained by actual survey made by Mr. Beck for this work. The measurements were made from the Byrāgi's Maṭh at the foot of the Hills, and not with reference to the sea-level. The farthest point of Dhavalagiri is probably higher.

The substance of these hills is a kind of warm grey sandstone, soft and porous, peculiarly well adapted for excavations; but from its coarse gritty character, it is not fit for finished sculptures.

The south-western mound is Dhavalgiri, abbreviated by common people into Dewalgiri or Dhāüli. It is noted for its being the site of the famous Aśoke edicts which are engraved on one of its outlying spurs. Nīlagiri possesses no antiquarian remains of any kind.

[2] To the antiquarian the most interesting parts of these hills are certain excavations which are to be met with on some of them. These excavations or cave dwellings are similar in many respects, to the farfamed rock-cut caves of Ellora, Ajanṭā, and other places in Western India. They abound most in Udayagiri. Khaṇḍagiri has, likewise some caves, but neither so numerous, nor nearly so elaborate. To those who are familiar with the notices of these antiquities in the pages of the *Researches* and the *Journal* of the *Asiatic Society of Bengal*, and elsewhere, this remark may appear incorrect, inasmuch as they have generally seen the most elaborate sculptures described as existing on Khaṇḍagiri; but the apparent error will vanish when they are told that in those writings the generic name of the group has often been used instead of the specific names of the different hills. Captian Kittoe, in his *Journal*,[1] notices the antiquities of the two hills separetaly; but others have not been so careful, and even James Prinsep in his *Notes on Inscriptions at Udyagiri and Khaṇḍagiri in Cuttack* confounds the two, and before commencing his remarks on the large Hātigumphā inscription, says: "But first I would call attention to a number of short inscriptions in the old character which he (Kittoe) discovered on the occasion of his first visit, in the various caves of the neighbouring hill called Udayagiri,"[2] when in fact both the short and the long inscriptions alike came from Udayagiri, and only two have as yet been discovered on Khaṇḍagiri. Elsewhere the same error may be frequently noticed.

Legend about the origin of the Hills:—The native legend about the origin of these hills is, that "they formerly constituted a part of the Himālaya, at which time they were inhabited by numerous *ṛṣis*, who dug the caves now found in them. They were taken up bodily, ascetics and all, by Mahābir Hanumān, with other masses of rock, to build the bridge of Rāma, but by some accident, were allowed to drop in their passage through the air, when they alighted in their present position." [3]

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[1] *Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, VI, p. 1079.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 1072.

Routes to the hills :—The usaul route to the Khaṇḍagiri Hills is *via* Bhuvaneśvara. The traveller, starting from Cuttack, has to perform two stages on the Puri road, first eight miles to Bālkāti, thence seven miles to Bālihantā, then about five miles across country to Bhuvaneśvara, crossing the rivulets Bhārgavī and the Balabhadrā in the way, and lastly five miles from the latter place to the hills. Some bearers prefer to go down the Puri Road three miles from Bālihantā to Tankapāni, thence two and a half miles across the fields to Bhuvaneśvara. There is a small Government bungalow opposite Khaṇḍagiri, at the foot of the hill, and, close by, a modern *maṭh* set up by a *byrāgi*, who earns a precarious subsistence from the few pilgrims who from time to time visit the place. The ground around the bungalow is skirted by some shady trees; bu tas no eatebles of any kind are available there, and water of good quality is also scarce, the usual practice with tourists and pilgrims is to pitch their tents, or hire lodgings, at Bhuvaneśara, and thence to visit the place after an early breakfast. For persons travelling by the Madras Trunk Road, the village of Mendāsal offers a convenient starting point for a short cut to Khaṇḍagiri ; but the whole distance, about seven miles, has to be done across hills, and rocks, and arid plains without any road or beaten track. I am not aware if there is any approach to the place accessible to travellers from the west side.

When I was at the place in the winter of 1868, the Government bungalow was in a dilapitated condition, with a part of the thatch blown away, and altogether utterly unfit for use. It was in charge of a *pāyik* who acted the cicerone to me, taking particular care to treat me and my party with interminable stories of the innumerable bears and tigers which, according to him, infested the place. He had a huge flaming brand in his hand, which he turned about a good deal in front of every cave before he would permit us to enter it, and never ventured to name the tiger except in the most respectful form of "the mighty one" (*mahābali*). The wood-cutters of Sunderban are equally mindful of the respect due to this fell monarch of Indian forests, and not only address him, with the title of *banadevatā*, "the forest god," but invariably offer his spirit worship in the forms of Kālurāya and Dakṣiṇarāya before entering the forest. Elsewhere the same respect is shown by never naming him except by a periphrasis, though the term used is not always, the same.[4] Nor is this system of circumlocutory courtesy for a redoubtable enemy peculiar to India. The Norwegian peasant is careful not to offend the big brown bear, to him the most dreaded enemy, by calling him after his ordinary name. No, he is there "the old gentleman with the fur coat." In like manner do the hunters of Oregon and Colorado speak of the dreaded grizzly bear by the euphemistic title of "uncle Ephraim." In India, such names rapidly pass from the concrete to the abstract, and become the symbols of the presiding divinities of particular objects of dread, such as *Mā-śitalā*, "Mother Soother" (small-pox), *Ollā-bibi*, "Madam Cholera," and the like. What with the cultivated field on the west side, and a few scattered huts on the east, with little children walking about in front of them, and the far from imposing physique of our decrepit guide, the stories failed to produce in us the effect they were intended [3] to do, but the worthy man had the satisfaction of affording us at least one proof in support of his veracity by calling our attention to the fresh footprints of the "mightly one" on a retired sport in the north of Udayagiri. And on the whole the place is to a certain extent bearish-looking and porcupines abound everywhere.

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[3] *Asiatic Researches*, XV, p. 312.

[4] A common term with some wood-cutters is *Siyāl* or the Jackal.

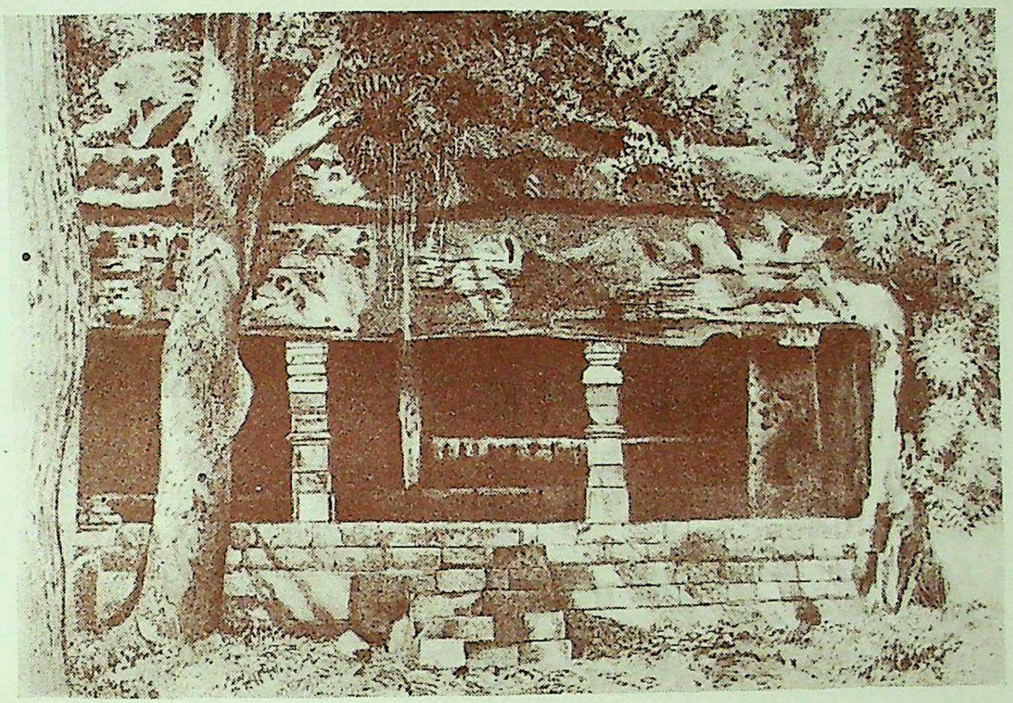
Udayagiri Hill. :— Udayagiri, as already stated, forms the easternmost protuberance of the belt. It is of an irregular shape, the extreme measurements being 1300 feet by 1200. It is generally well-wooded, but in some parts bare. Its highest point measures 110 feet from the level of the surrounding country. Its substance like that of the other hills of the group, is sandstone, tilted to an incline of about 50 degrees. It was surveyed at my request by Mr. H. Beck, a professional Engineer, in 1873, and his plan of the hill is shown on plate 1.

Rani Naur :— Standing between the Government bungalow and the modern *maṭh*, the visitor has before him to the west a steep flight of steps leading to the top of Khaṇḍagiri, and a small group of caves to the right at the foot of Udayagiri. He will find it more convenient, however, to leave these unnoticed, and walking on round the *maṭh* to the east over some jungle and brush-wood, a little behind the aforesaid caves, to begin with the easternmost and by far the most elaborate and sumptuous excavation in Orissa. It is called differently by different persons, Rānī Naur or "Queen's Palace" by some, Rānī Gumphā, "Queen's Cave" or Rānī-antaḥpur, corrupted by the common people to Ranihāñsapur, the "Queen's Chambers" by others. It consists of a two-storeyed monastery covering three sides of a quadrangle, the fourth or south-eastern side being open. The quadrangle, (Plate II) measures 49 x 24 feet. The left wing, however, after a turn inwards, extends in an oblique direction outwards much beyond the limit of the right wing, and if the whole area included by it be reckoned as a part of the court-yard, as it probably did when first excavated, the enclosure would measure 49 x 43 feet. It is formed of the original rock cut smooth with a gentle slope towards the open side. Some undressed stones and rubble lie along its outer edge, and at one time formed a sort of partition wall, but this was probably long after the completion of the excavation. The original design, it would seem, included a Buddhist rail or wall with an entrance gate in the middle. Owing to the place being lumbered with huge, loose stones and covered over with jungle, I could not, however, trace the situation of the rail and the gate.

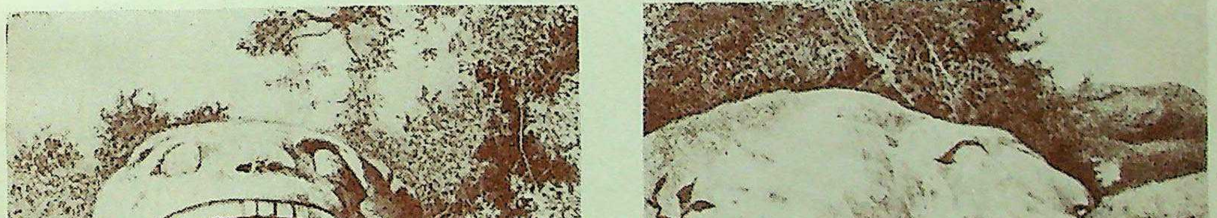
The caves on the three sides are apparently two-storeyed, but in reality they are not so, as the upper storey is so placed as not to be right above the lower, but some way behind it. This arrangement obtains in most of the other two-storeyed caves, and its object evidently is, to secure the greatest strength and stability, by placing the caves always on solid rock, instead of perforated hollows. The soft, fragile, incohering texture of the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preseyation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE XXVI

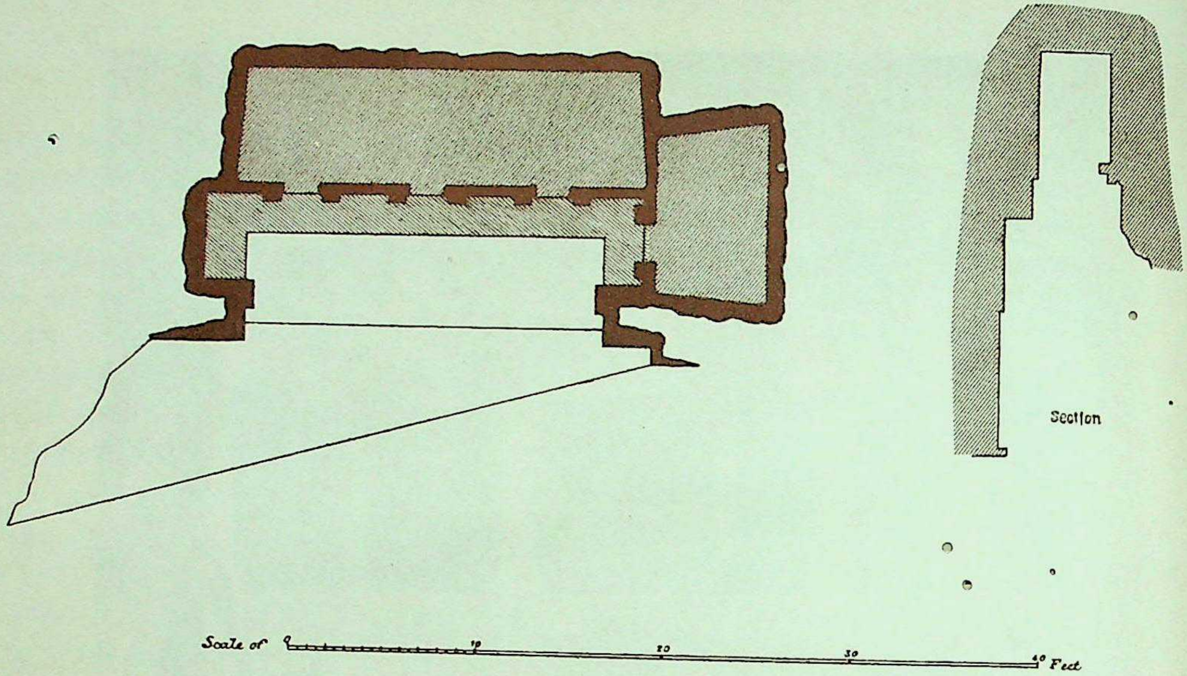


JAIN CAVE : KHANDAGIRI



Front View TIGER CAVE : UDAYAGIRI *Side View*

GROUND PLAN & SECTION OF THE VAICANTA CAVE


Section
Scale of 0 10 20 30 40 Feet

GROUND PLAN & SECTION OF THE GUNESA CAVE

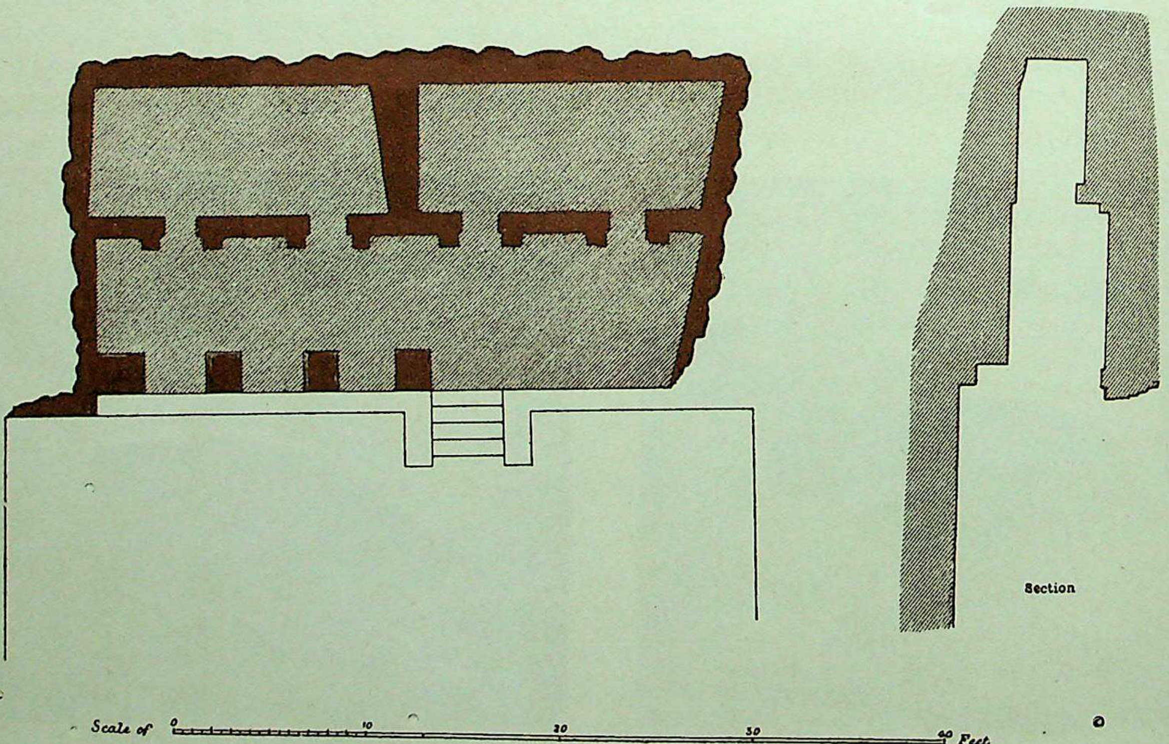

Section
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PLATE XXVII

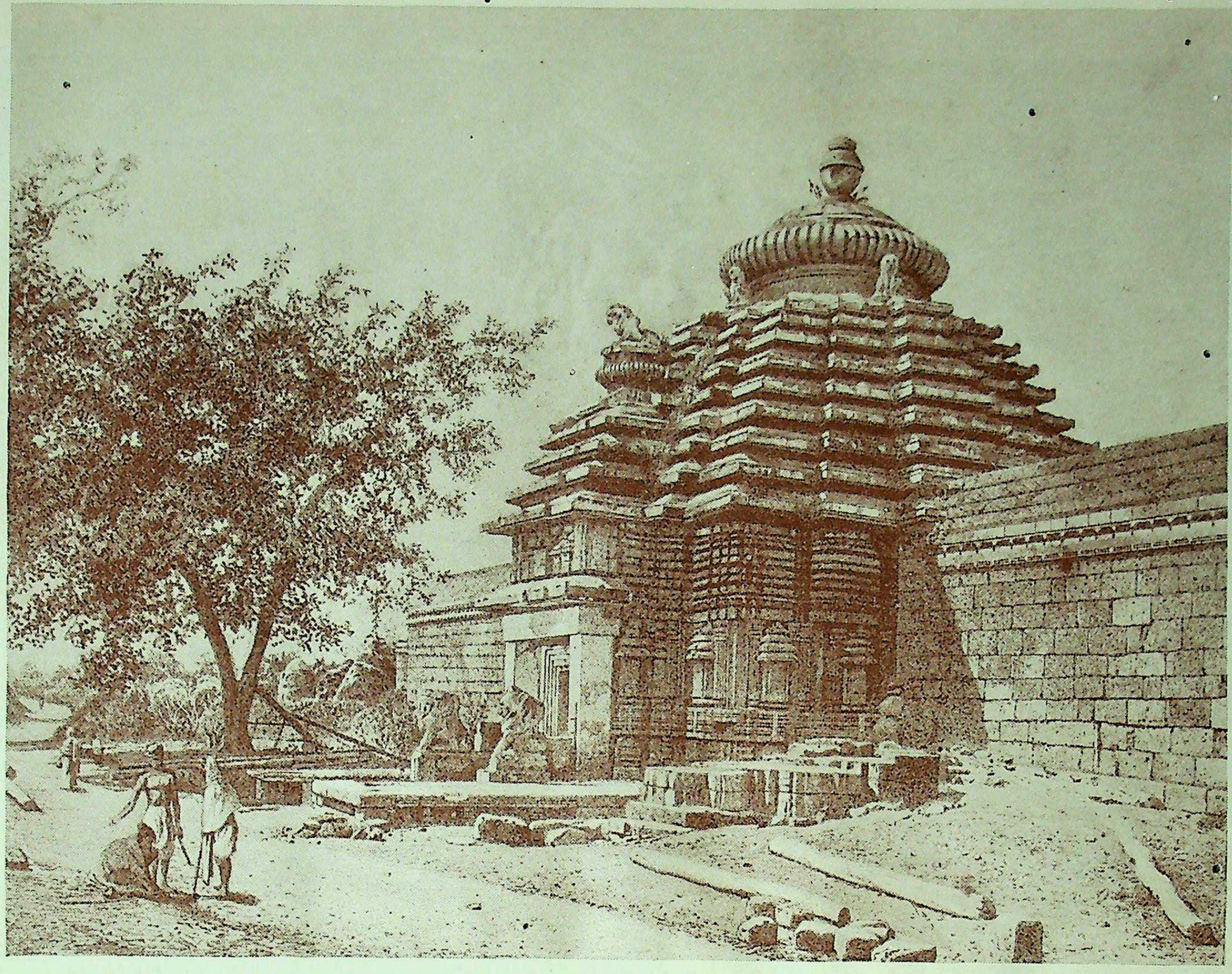


PLATE XXXII—PROPYLAEUM OF THE BHUVANESVARA TEMPLE

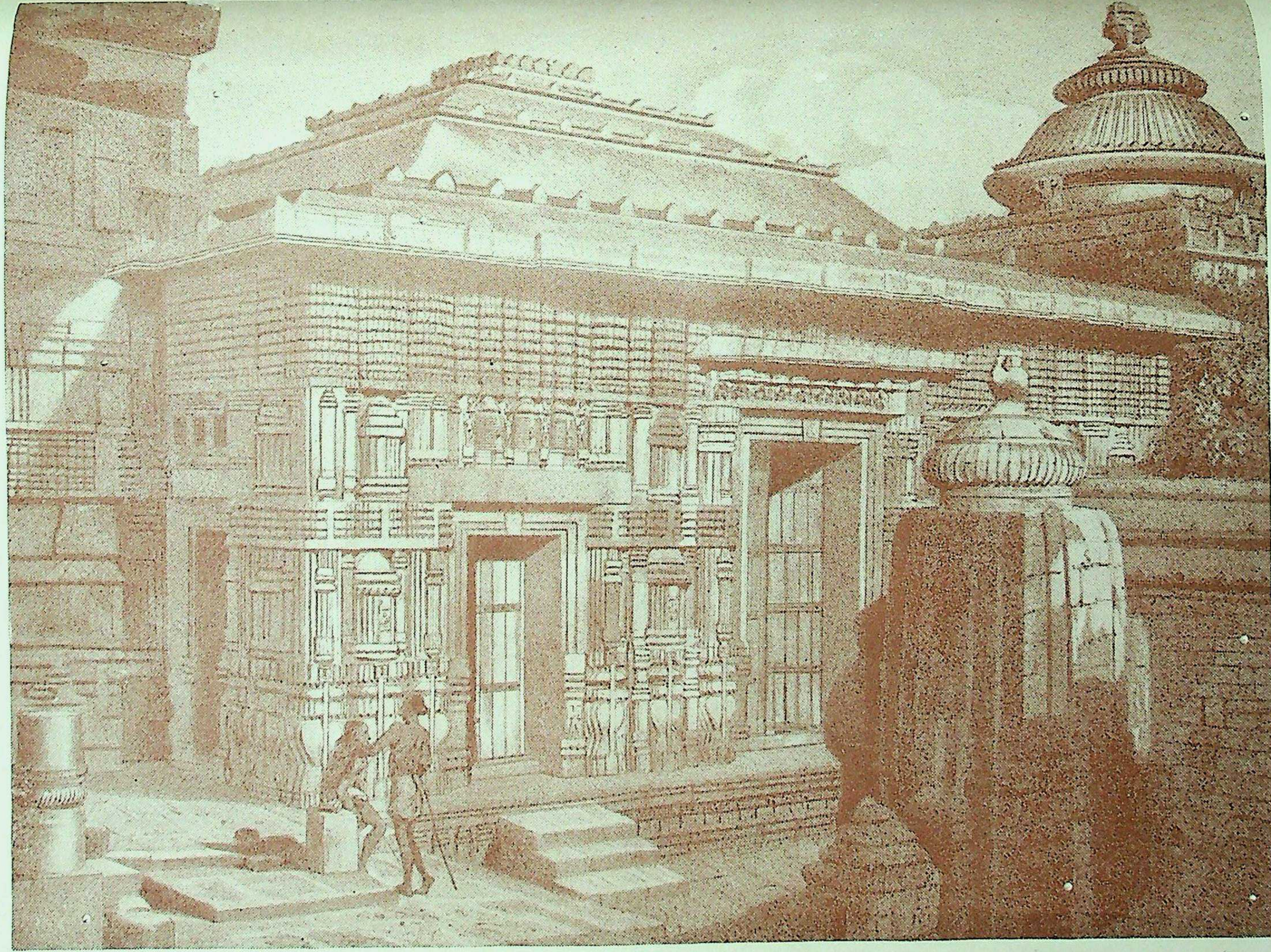


PLATE XXXIII—NAT MANDIR, BHUVANESVARA

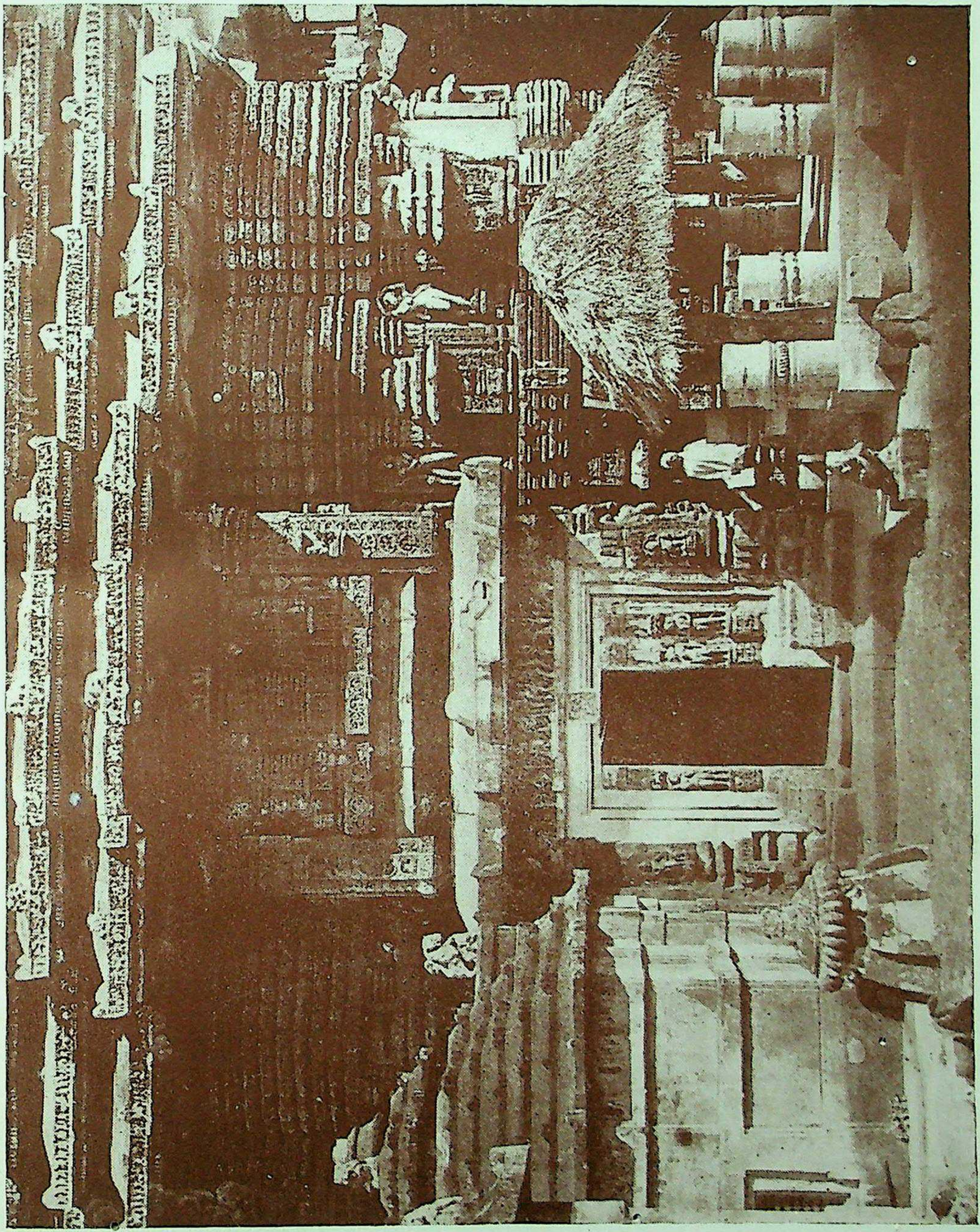


PLATE XXXIV

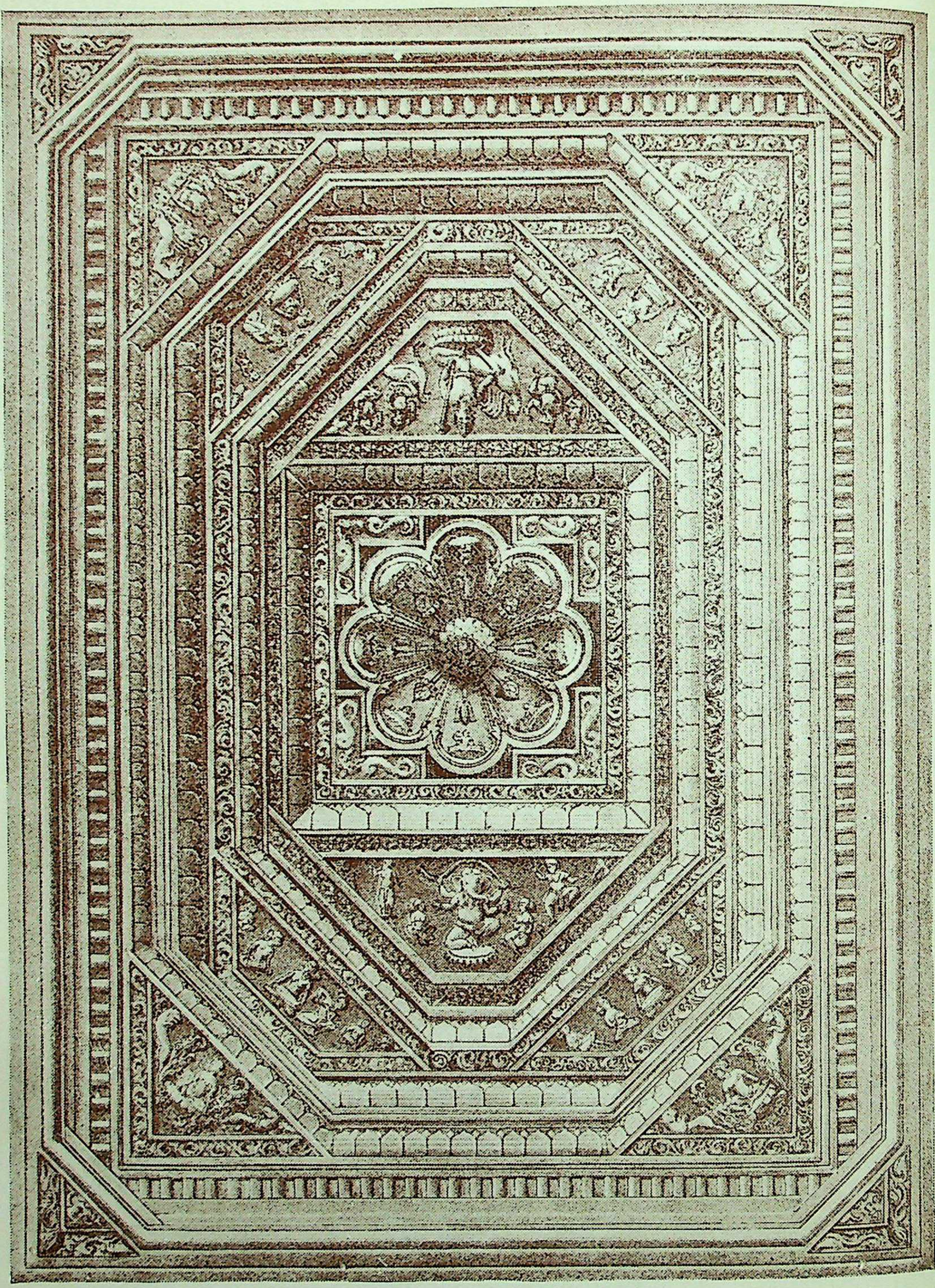
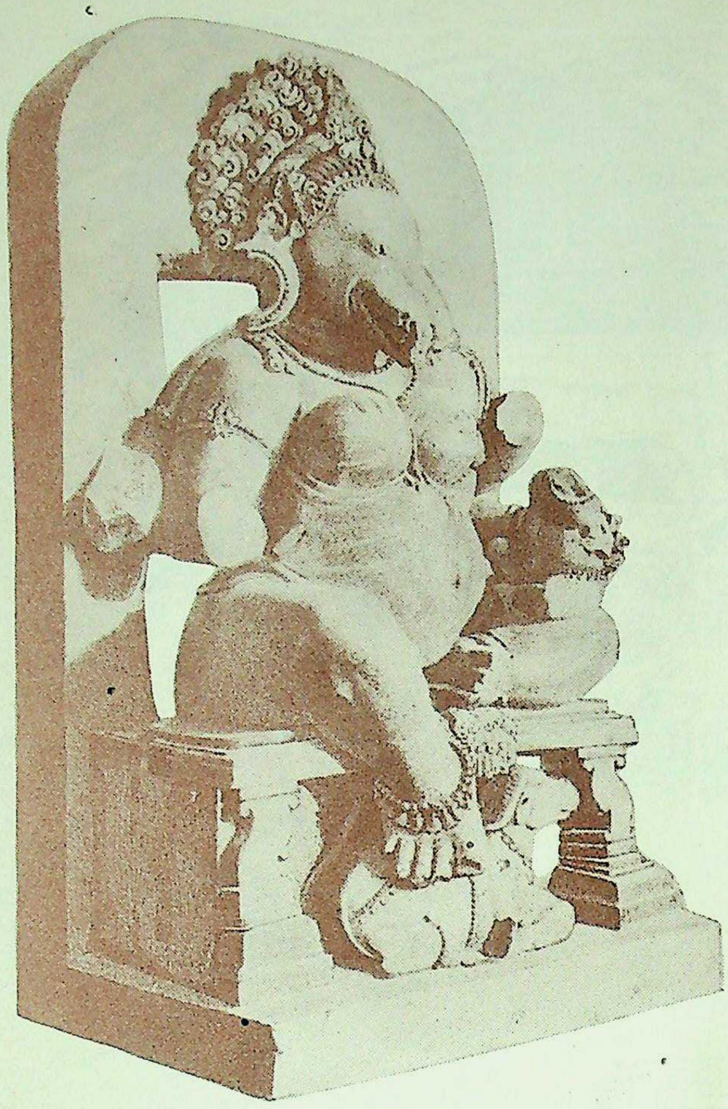


PLATE XXXVIII—CEILING OF THE MUKTESVARA PORCH



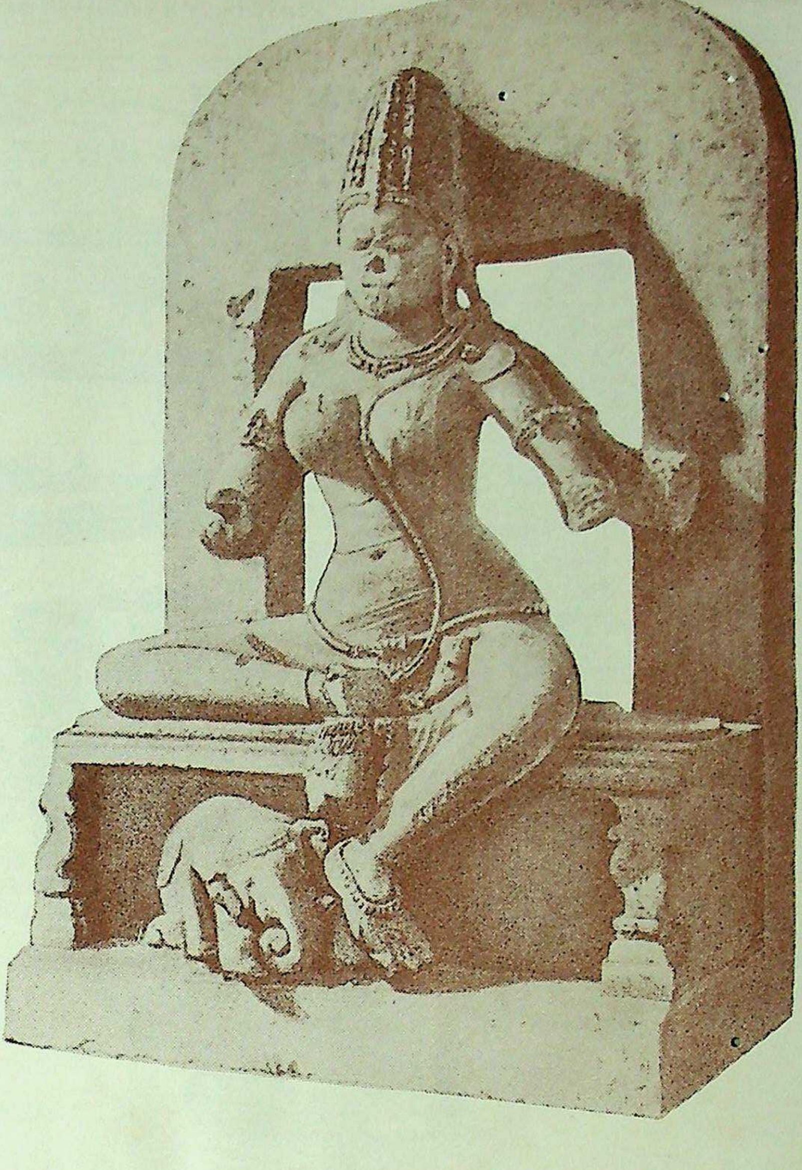


PLATE XXXIX

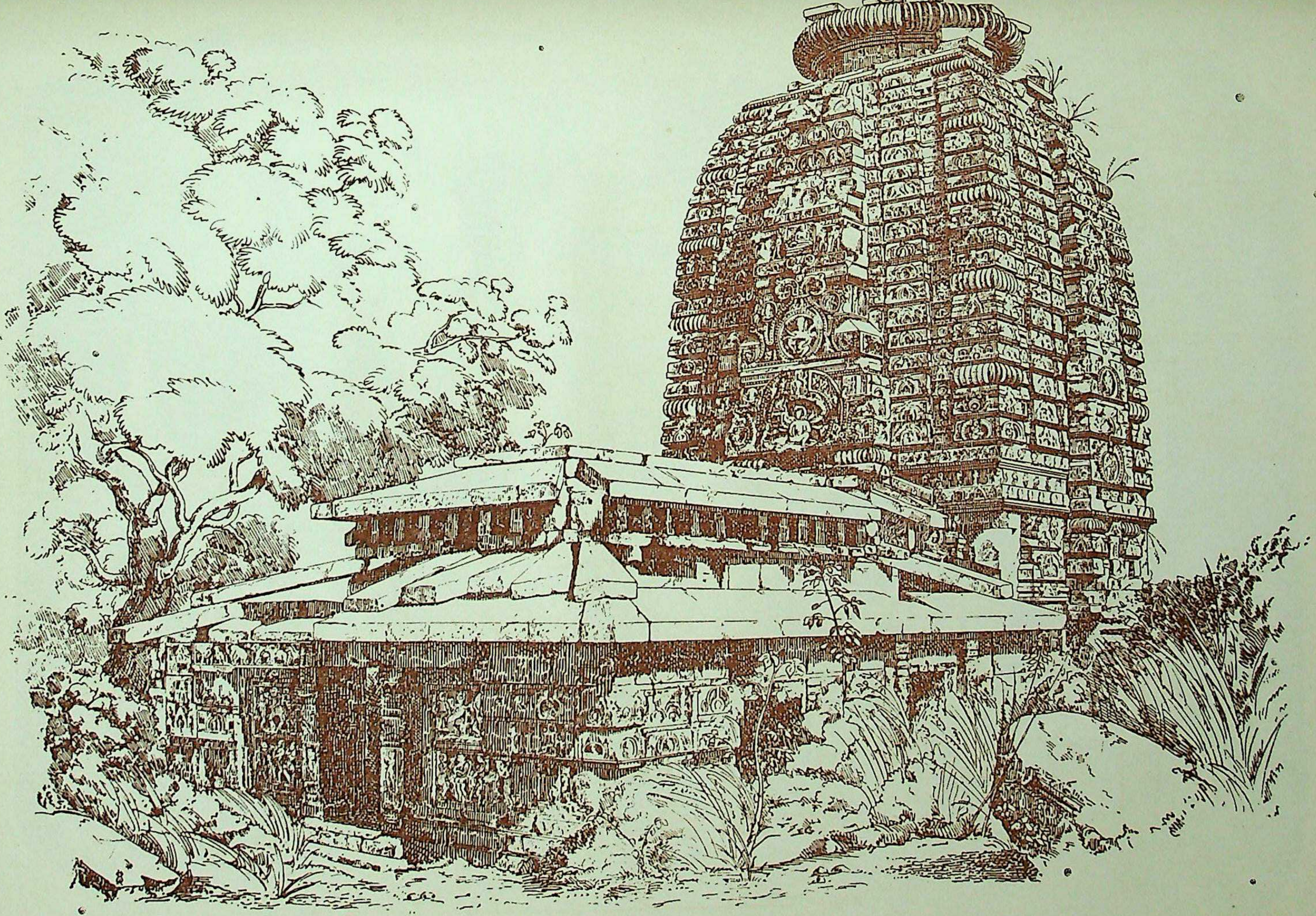
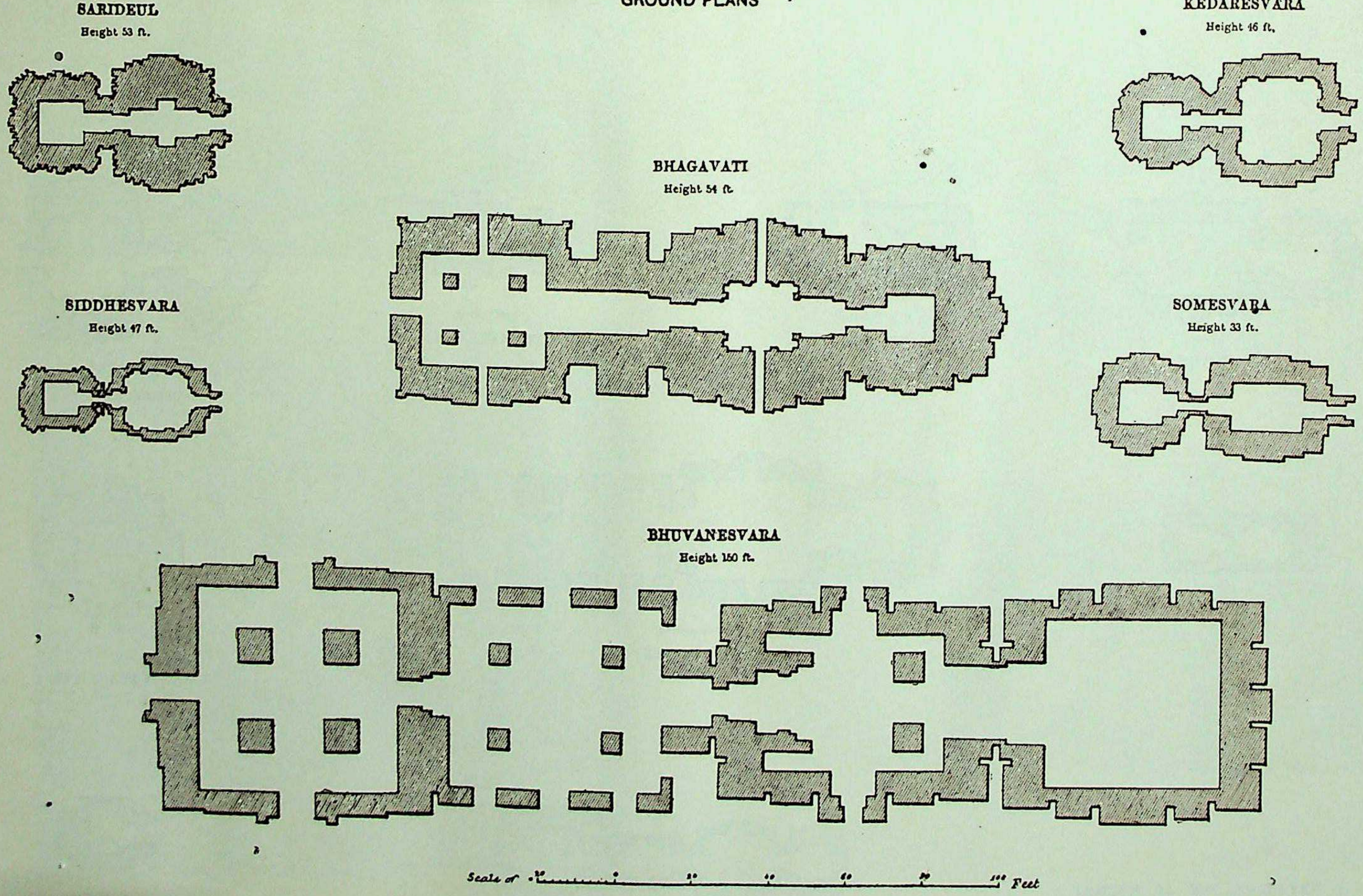


PLATE XLVII—PARASURAMESVARA TEMPLE

GROUND PLANS

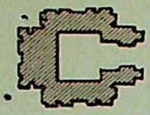


ŚARIDEUL
Height 53 ft.
KEDÁRESVARA
Height 46 ft.
BHAGAVATI
Height 54 ft.
SIDDHESVARA
Height 47 ft.
SOMESVARA
Height 33 ft.
BHUVANESVARA
Height 150 ft.
Scale of 10 0 20 40 60 80 100 Feet

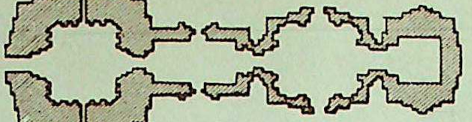
PLATE XLVIII

GROUND PLANS
OF THE
TEMPLE OF BHUVANEṢVARA

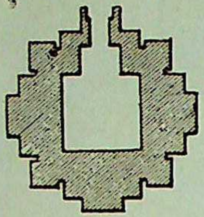
NÁGEŚVARA
Height 52 ft.



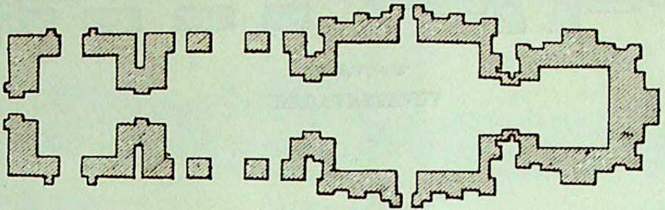
KAPILESVARA
Height 46 ft.



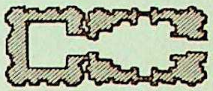
RÁMESVARA
Height 78 ft.



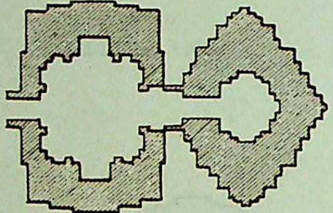
ANANTA VÁSU DEVA
Height 60 ft.



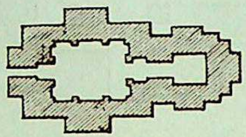
KOPÁRI
Height 35 ft.



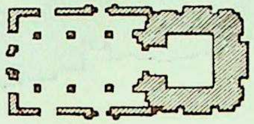
RÁJARÁNI
Height 63 ft.



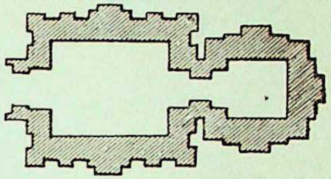
MUKTESVARA
Height 35 ft.



PARAŚURÁMESVARA
Height 38 ft.



JOMESVARA
Height 67 ft.



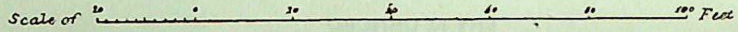
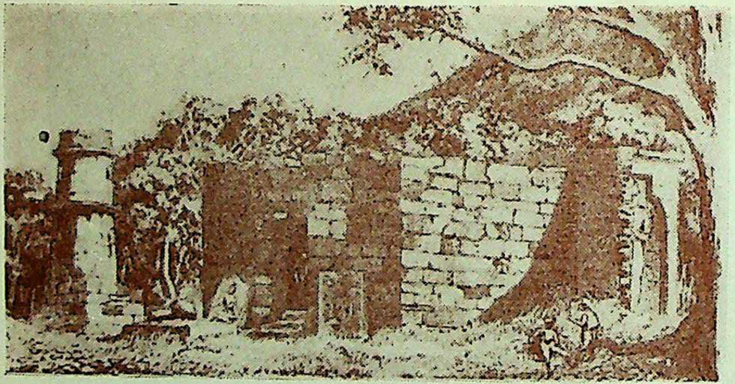
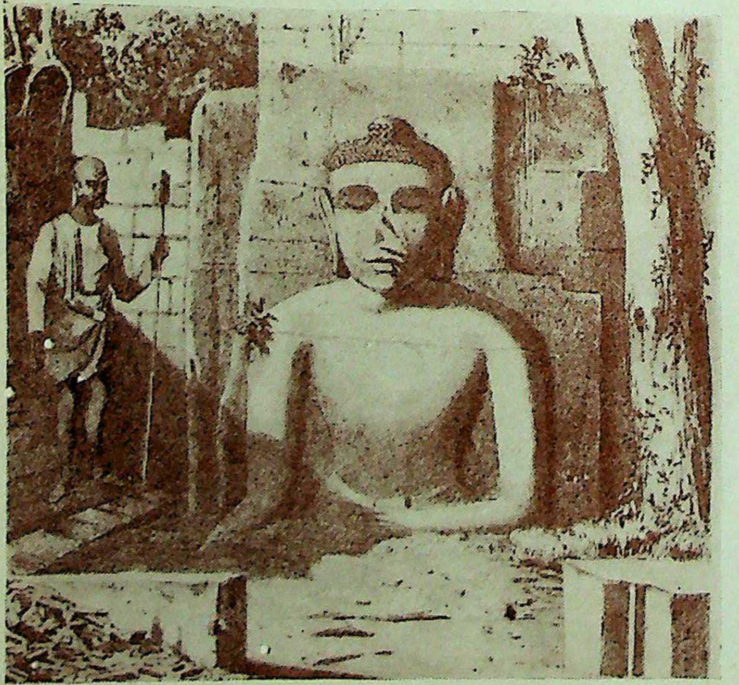
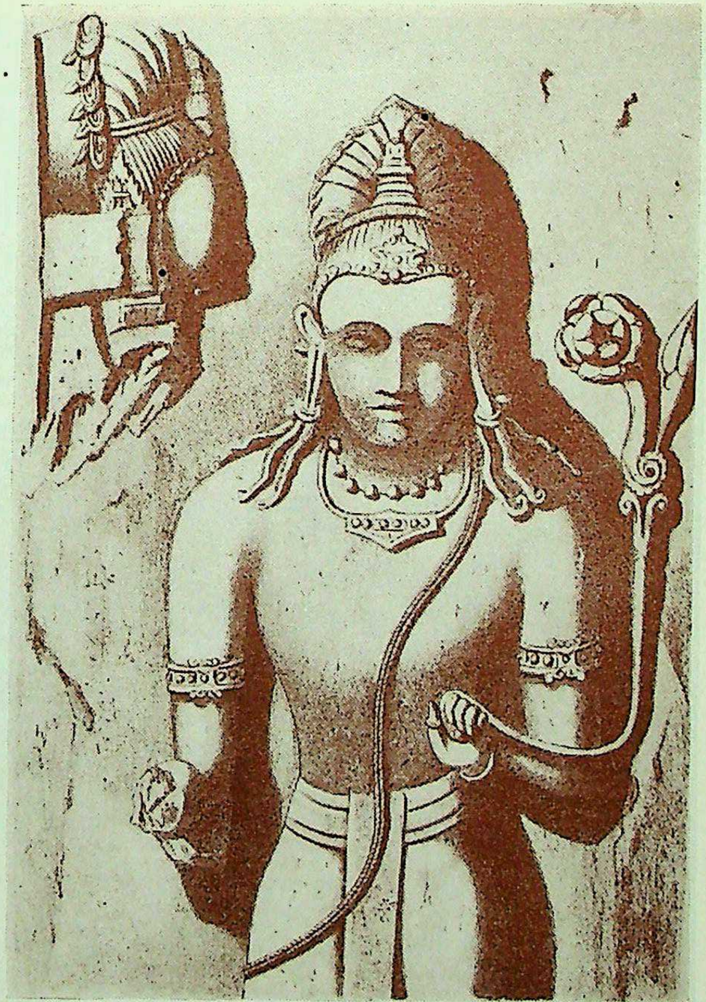


PLATE XLIX







Left-top : TEMPLE OF BASULI THAKURANI, CUTTACK
Left-bottom : COLOSSAL STATUE OF BUDDHA AT UDAYAGIRI, ALTIHILLS, CUTTACK
Right : PADMAPANI, ONE OF THE FIVE DHYANI BUDDHAS, AND PROFILE OF A COLOSSAL HEAD OF DITTO, UDAYAGIRI, CUTTACK

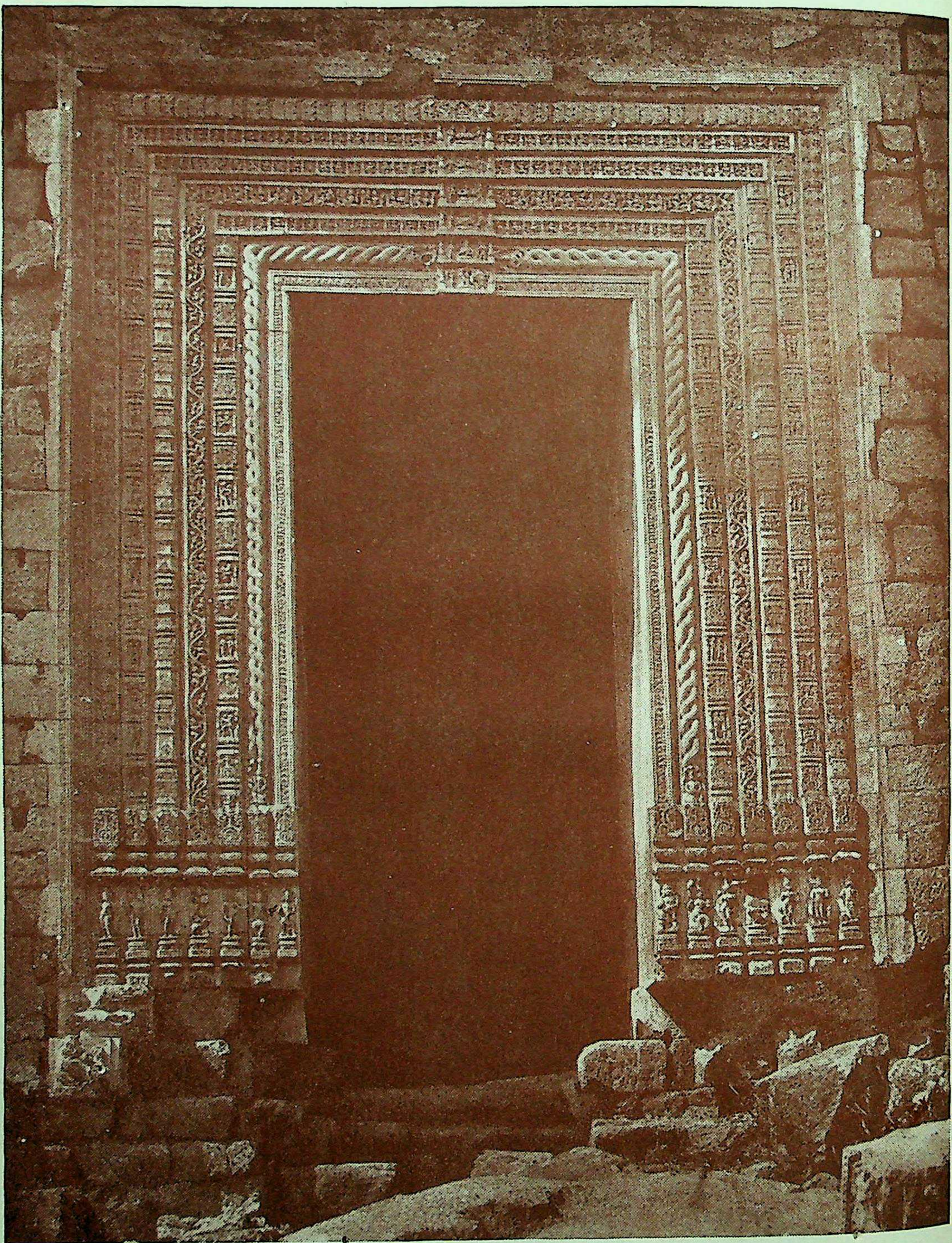


PLATE LVII

stone rendered this precaution necessary ; and we now find that wherever it was neglected, the caves have suffered serious injury.

Rani Naur, Right Wing :— On the east side, facing the south-west, there was formerly a flight of steps leading to the upper storey, but there are now only a few traces of it, and the visitor has to scramble over bare rocks and scattered loose stones. When the steps existed, they were probably exposed and unprotected from the inclemencies of the weather, at least no trace is now visible of any room which enclosed it. The ground floor on this side, facing the west, has a raised plinth of about 2′ 6″. Over it there once was a range of four pillars, two of which are still *in situ*. The pillars are divided into five sections each, of which the basal, terminal and central sections are square, and the intermediate ones octagonal, the corners of the square shaft being there chamfered (Illustration No. 1) to give them a finished moulded appearance. They measure six diameters in length, and have neither bases nor capitals. The verandah formed by these pillars is 19 feet long, and 6½ feet broad, with an average height of 7 feet. The ceiling here, as elsewhere, is slightly arched, the rise in the centre being about six inches. The object of this arching was to add to the strength of the roofs, and at the same time to prevent leakage in the middle. The whole surface is cut smooth and there is nothing like ribs, beams or rafters to be anywhere seen. This peculiarity is worthy of special note, as it demonstrates most clearly that in the formation of the ceiling, the architect did not imitate any wooden model, and what is true of this verandah is likewise true of all the other caves in Udayagiri. [5]

Passing through the verandah the visitor comes to a large room with three doors. It measures 20 x 7 x 7 feet, and is perfectly bare of ornament, as indeed the interior of all other cells and caves invariably are. The doors, however, have around them on the outside a rich framing formed of two side pilasters with lion capitals (Illustration No. 2), and surmounted by a semi-circular flat band filled with scroll work (A. 13.) The outer edge of the band is surmounted by a triangular pointed [4] crest or finial enclosing a floral ornament, or a figure. This style of ornamenting the door-frame is common to all the caves of Udayagiri, but the ornaments on the band, instead of being repeated throughout as is uaully the case in Greek and Roman buildings, are greatly diversified, and scrolls, single flowers, figures of men and animals have been carved at option without any reference to uniformity. Each frame is complete by itself, and, except

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5. On the Khaṇḍagiri Hill the arches over the doors of the Ananta cave, have, under them, a series of blocks projecting from the top of the tympanum, which may be taken as representations of the ends of rafters. They appear to serve as supports to the projecting arch over them, in the same way in which corbel-tables support the cornice in Greek architecture. In either case they may be taken to be copies of wooden models. In Khaṇḍagiri they have been used as ornaments, for the situation in which they occur, carved in solid rock they can contribute very little to the mechanical strength of the superstructure.

in outline and general character, bears no relation to its neighbour. The spring of the arch generally begins with a couchant lion, or elephant, or deer, and the space between the two nearest springs is connected by a flat band representing a five-barred fence, with uprights at short itnervals. This fence or rail is peculiarly Buddhistic in character, and is to be met with either in original or effigy in every Buddhist structure throughout India without an exception. At Sāñchi, Amarāvatī, and Buddhagayā, it occupies a most prominent position round the sacred fane, and at Ceylon, its counterpart is met with round the great Tope of Anurāhdāpur.[6] Its presence in the cave unmistakably indicates the true character of this dwelling. Standing on this rail are a series of human figures engaged in various acts of devotion. The first in the series beginning from the north or left side (A. 13) is a dwarf with outstretched knees and ponderous ear ornaments, resting against a tree. The next is a female standing with folded hands in the act of salutation. She has heavy anklets, necklets and pendulous ear-ornaments, but only a very narrow strip of cloth round the hip by way of dress. Her husband next to her is better habilimented, with a flowiug plait of cloth (*koñchā*) reaching the ground, and a scarf tied round the waist. He has a light turban on his head, and heavy ear-ornaments, but no necklet or anklet. His hands are reverentially folded like those of his wife. The fourth figure is a famle (a second wife?) dressed and ornamented as the first female figure; but holding a large tray on one hand and an urn on the other. A counterpart of this figure is to be seen on the opposite side of the arch, but without the urn. The three central figures of the second compartment (A. 14) represent the husband and his two wives dancing in ecstatic devotion. Then comes the famale with the urn and tray to be replaced on the other side of the arch by a full-blown lotus. The third compartment (A. 15) exhibits a female dancing under a canopy supported on carved posts, and four seated companions playing on musical instruments, the nearest thumping a tom-tom, the next ringing cymbals lifted over her head, the third striking a harp, and the fourth blowing a flute. The fourth compartment (A. 16) begins with a female holding forth a tray, followed by a man in a heavy turban advancing with folded hands, and a woman carrying a tray and an urn. The last figure is a boy, not a dwarf, as at the other end, standing under a tree with his hands crossed over his chest.

Against the terminal piers of the verandah facing the courtyard, there are two alto-rilievo stalwart figures, dresseed in tight fitting clothes and armed with spears and clubs. The figure on the right hand side is very much mutilated, but that on the left is perfect, except about the face. They are cut out of the solid rock, and are attached to the piers against which they stand.

To the right of the left side figure, at the angle where the north wing joins the western range, and projecting a little from the corner of the verandah, there is a small chamber 2″ 6″ square, with two doors, one opening towards the west, and the other toward the south, both set flush with the level of the courtyard. The sides of these doors are most sumptuously carved. The pier to the right of the front doorway has a curious piece of sculpture representing a hill of many peaks or boulders, with several caves in which are seen figures of elephants in different attitudes, of a bird very like an owl in the centre, of a snake, of some fruits and of a man, but so mutilated as not to admit of being made out as to what he is engaged in (A. 12). The appearance of these carvings and ornaments would seem to indicate that the room was intended as the repository of some relic or sacred image. There is, however, no trace now of any such object in it, and the room looks very like a porter's lodge. The roof of this chamber is lower than that of the verandah aforesaid.

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[6] For a detailed account of this rail, vide Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 187.

The roofs of the verandah and the large chamber form an open terrace, but of different levels, and the rock behind the chamber-roof has been dressed so as to form a plain wall with a very small closet to the south of the chamber-roof. To the east of the terrace, but behind its outer line, there is a narrow verandah leading to a square compartment with two doors. (Plate III.) The length of the room on the front side is 10 feet and behind 9·4, the breadth being 8 feet. The doors are plain, having none of the usual side pilasters and semi-circular top-mouldings. The floor of the verandah has a raised plinth or seat along its three sides, two feet broad, leaving the front low. The anterior face of the verandah is divided into two inter-columniations by a massive square pillar having the angles at the middle of its shaft chamfered to form an octagon, the base is formed of a thick plinth without ornament or moulding, and the capital is represented by a small bracket projecting forward and having a female figure carved on its face (Plate IV). Against the side piers of the verandah there are two human figures in alto-relievo standing as guards to the sanctuary. The right hand figure represents a pot-bellied Uriyā, dressed in a close-tucked *dhuti* or wrapper and a heavey turban, but having no shoes, nor bearing any arms. The figure on the left hand side is 4 feet 6 inches [5] in height and is intended to represent a warrior in full uniform. The dress of this figure has already been described (Vol. I. p. [82], plate XXIV), and nothing further need be said here, than that, though the character of the dress, as there stated, cannot by any stretch of imagination be likened to anything Greek, it may be compared to that of the figure on the obverse of Kenerki coins; and the question may be raised as to how far the dress was Scythian? Did the sovereigns of the Kenerki dynasty of Kashmir retain their Scythian dress, or assume an Indian one when ruling in India? At first sight, it would appear presumptuous to assume the latter position, but seeing that Alexander the Great changed his dress in Asia, it would not be altogether unwarrantable to suppose such a change in the case of the Scythians, who adapted themselves in so many ways to the manners and customs of the country of their adoption. Certain it is that the Hindu sovereigns who followed them, appear on their coins in identically the same garb. It should be added also that the principal article of dress which raises this question is the *jāmā* or outer coat, which was an old Indian upper garment, the archetype of which was probably brought from Central Asia by the Aryan colonists, and retained by them in some modified form or other until very recently, and which the Parsis still retain, and its similitude, therefore, with a Bactro-Aryan garment is *a priori* what was to be expected, and its presence on an Indian statue cannot solve the question as to whether the garment was the old one which accompanied the old Aryans, or was borrowed from the Scythians, when they occupied the north-western parts of India. The next article of dress is the turban, which, generally speaking, is a good ethnic index, and was adopted by the Hindus from a period of remote antiquity. It is prominent on the statue in question, but the Kenerki coins show no trace of it. The *chādar* or scarf thrown diagonally over the body is another article of dress which has a marked Indian character, and it serves completely to upset the Scythic theory. Beyond the figure of the warrior, just at the corner, there is a lion guardant of nearly natural size, mounted by a female figure, not in the graceful style of Umā, but striding across with both hands uplifted.

Rani Naur, Left wing :—The lower storey of the left wing corresponds with the last in its general character. It has its raised plinth, stalwart guards, and a verandah in front, but its interior arrangements are different in its details. The verandah is larger, measuring 23' x 9'6", and has three rooms on its three sides, instead of one behind (Plate III).[7] Its front pillars have fallen through, and are not now traceable, but from marks on [6] the foundation, it would seem that they were counterparts of what exist on the opposite side The room behind the verandah has three plain doorways, and measures 21' 6" in front and 20' behind, the breadth being 6 feet. The two central piers of the doorways are uniform, but the side ones are of unequal length. On the west side, the verandah leads by a door in the midst of its width to an oblong chamber 11' x 6' 6", and on the east a similar chamber is accessible by a door placed a little to one side. The dimensions of the chambers are 13' 6" x 6' 3" x 7'. A counterpart of the little corner room of the right wing, occures on this side, but it has an only doorway facing the east. The southern wall of this chamber has an elaborate piece of sculpture representing a hill with several caves occupied by crouching elephants, very much, but not quite, like what occurs on the right side.

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[7] H. Locke, Esq., Principal, Government Scool of Art, Calcutta, surveyed the Caves in the cold season of 1871-72, and prepared a series of most accurate drawings of the ground-plans, sections and elevations, which he very generously placed at my disposal for the illustration of this work, and the plates of the caves hereto annexed have been photo-zincographed from those originals. The pupils of the Art School, who accompanied Mr. Locke on the occasion, prepared, under his immediate superintendence casts, of the principal sculptures on the Udayagiri Hill, and those of the Ananta cave on the adjoining hill, and my illustrations have been copied from those casts. Having carefully studied the originnls *in situ* on the hill, and taken detailed notes while standing before them with the express object of describing them in a book, I am in a position to speak authoritatively on the subject, and it gives me great pleasure to bear my humble testimony to the extreme accuracy and rigid fidelity of the plans and the casts. As the works of a gentleman, who is a thorough master in his profession, the plans are the most perfect of their kind and nothing could be more exactly like the originals than the casts; and I avail myself of this opportunity to express publicly my feeling of thankfulness to Mr. Locke, for having enabled me to offer their counterparts to the readers of this work. I shall have occasion, elsewhere to record my obligations to him for the valuable assistance—most cheerfully and promptly rendered—often under very trying circumstances—while labouring under ill-health, or overwhelmed with official work—for which I feel deeply grateful to him. His pupils also prepared a series of costs of the sculptures of Bhuvaneśvara, which have been of much service to me in getting up some of the illustrations of the first volume. They have been as faithfully executed as the Udaygiri series and are of equal value to the

The upper storey of this wing has two rooms, one opening into the other. The one accessible from the terrace measures 8′ x 5′ 6″, and has a raised seat on its three sides ; the other is of the same size, but it has no raised seat. The former has only one entrance, but no verandah in front, nor a booted figure for a guard, the duty of watching the solitary entrance being left to a female bestriding a bull, and a *dhuti*-clad warder. Another peculiarity to be noticed on this side is a small square opening or window in the scarped wall of the inner chamber at a height of about 5 feet from the floor : such openings for the admission of light and air are rarely met with in cave architecture, though they are not absolutely wanting. The fact is, the hermits and monks for whom they were designed, passed their time in open air and in travelling from place to place, and the caves were occupied only at night in foul weather and during the rainly season when the ceremony of the wassā had to be celebrated by them in their monastery, and possibly also in the depth of winter, as also by the old and decrepit, who could no longer pass a life of itinerancy, and for them, and at such times windows were scarcely needed. Owing to the hill being low on this side, the scarped wall has not been carried to the same length as on the right wing, and the area has been left open as a terrace.

Rani Naur, North facade, lower storey :—Turning now to the northern range, we come to the most important part of the excavation to which the architects had devoted their bast attention, and which is still in a better state of preservation than the two wings (*Plete V*). Its ground-floor front was originally formed of a colonnaded verandah, 44 feet long, having a raised seat or plinth along the whole of its inner line. The verandah was

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antiquarian, as they help very materially in determining the true position of Hindu architecture as a fine-art. Mr. Fergusson, in his "Rude Stone Monuments," speaks very disparagingly of these casts. He says, "In 1869, the Government sent an expedition to Cuttack of draftsmen, photographers, &c., but they knew so little what was wanted, and they wasted their time and money in casting minarets and sculptures of no beauty or interest, and having earned their pay, returned *re infecta*". As one of the party who had for some days the direction of the works, though I drew no pay, I feel it my duty to repudiate the charge as utterly groundless. The draftsmen and photographers could not waste their time "in casting minarets," even if they had wished to do so, because they could not cast ; and the "*et cetera*," which I suppose include the moulders and modellers, could not cast minarets, for there are no mosques with minarets at Bhuvanaśvara which could be cast. The sculptures which principally engaged their attention, were mostly architectural ornaments, and they afford the oldest and most interesting illustrations of the taste for magnificence which manifested itself among the people of Orissa. Very competent judges are of opinion that those ornaments have a great deal of beauty as works of art, and the Principal of the Calcutta School of Art pronounces them to be "admirable" ; but their intrinsic excellence apart, as Indian relics of former times, they have an historical value which cannot but recommend them to the attention of all who take an interest in Indian antiquities. To quote the language of the late Mr. Owen Jones, "Although ornament is most properly an accessory to architecture, and should never be allowed to usurp the place of proper structural features, or to overload and disguise them, it is in all cases the very soul of an architectural monument ; and by the ornament alone can we judge truly of the amount of care and mind which have been devoted to the work. All else in any building may be the result of rule and compass, but by the ornament of a building we can best discover how far the architect was at the same time an artist." (*Grammar of Ornament*, p. 82). "Had we," he continues, "possessed only picturesque views of the Parthenon and the Temples of Balbeck and Palmyra, we should unhesitatingly have said formed by a row of eight square pillars, of which only the terminal, attached ones are now *in Situ*, the rest having fallen down along with the roof long since, and been removed. To the east, it opened into an oblong chamber 11'x7', and to the north into three rooms, of which the two side ones measure respectively 13' 6"x7' 13"x7', and the central one 16' in and 15' 6" behind, the breadth being as in the others, 7 feet. The verandah having been long since removed, the access to the rooms now is by the plinth. The side rooms have each two doors, and the central one three, so the facade has a range of seven doors formed and ornamented like those in the right wing, and having a running frieze of basorilievo figures, extending the whole length over the doorways. Owing to exposure caused by the demolition of the verandah, the frieze has suffered much from the rain and sun of many centuries, and in some places has been completey obliterated. Four fragments at the eastern end are all that can be seen in any thing like tolerable preservation. The first, on the penultimate eastern pier, represents a hut of two storeys with an open verandah or balcony round the upper chamber. (A. 8). The lower storey has two doors each with a straight hyperthyrion, having an arched moulding over it. The upper storey has an only door, but it is similar in character to the lower ones. There is a female figure looking out from each door, and one also from the balcony which is protected by a Buddhist rail of four bars ; a similar rail runs in front of the lower storey, and a large tree stands by its side. The roof is curvilinear.

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that the Romans were far greater architects than the Greeks. But the contour of a single moulding from the Parthenon would at once reverse the judgment, and proclaim loudly that we were viewing the works of a people, who had reached the highest point in civilization and refinement " (*Loc. cit*). None will I fancy question the truth of this canon of art criticism, and it is equally true that up to the time of expedition, whose labours Mr. Fergusson so unjustly condemns, very little had been done to render accessible to European art-critics, specimens of Indian ornament from living and undoubtedly authentic monuments, to enable them to determine India's place in the history of art,; and if they serve to do this, the time and money spent on them will be amply repaid. According to the author just quoted, "in the works hitherto published on the ancient architecture of India, sufficient attention has not been directed to the ornamental portions of the buildings to enable us to recognize the true character of Hindu ornament. In early publications on the art of Egypt, all the works of sculpture and ornament were so falsely rendered, that it has taken considerable time for the European public to become pursuaded that there existed so much grace and refinement in the works of the Egyptians The Egyptian remains, however, which have been transported to this country, the casts of others existing in Egypt, and the more trustworthy representations which have of late been published, have placed this beyond doubt, and Egyptian art is taking its true plaee in the estimation of the public. When the same thing shall have been done for the ancient architecture of India, we shall be in a better position than we are at present to form an opinion, how far it is entitled to take rank as a really fine-art, or whether the Hindus are only heapers of stones, one over the other, adorned with grotesque and barbaric sculpute." (*Op. cit*, p 81). It is not for me to pronounce on the merit of Hindu ornament ; it may also be, for aught I know, worth more in the estimation of European art-crities than those rude stone monuments which have been figured in Mr. Fergusson's work ; still the casts will serve to settle several quastions of considerable importance in the hisory of art, which, as Owen Jones says, "picturesque views," (however embellished by ingenious conjectures, or supported by hasty assertion) have, it must be admitted, hitherto failed to solve.

The second fragment occurs on the last pier of the northern wall ; the third, on the east wall ; the fourth, on the last pier or pilaster of the verandah, including the semicircular band over the door and portions of the frieze on the two side piers. The most important figure on the second fragment, (A. 9), is a saint, or priest, standing with a piece of cloth in his left [7] hand, the right hand being extended as in the act of blessing. He is dressed in an ample plaid (*dhuti*) tied round the waist, with a scarf over the body ; the head is broken. To his right stands a servant holding an umbrella aslant over him, and another carrying a sword to his front. On his left stands a devotee with folded hands seeking his blessing. Further to the left, are two women bringing offerings, one kneeling with the hands folded as in the act of salutation, and one kneeling and taking the dust from the feet of a boy, who has one of his hands on her head, and the other holding a cloth hanging from her head. The third fragment (A. 10) represents portions of two scenes, in one of which appears a well caparisoned saddle-horse with three attendants, and in the other the priest of the second fragment with an umbrella held over him, and two attendants bearing swords on their shoulders. The fourth fragment (A. 11) is much mutilated ; it represents a group of six women, three carrying pitchers on their heads, one kneeling and offering the contents of her pitcher to some person whose figure is lost, one kneeling with her hands folded, and the sixth resting on the branch of a tree and holding forth her pitcher. The groups on all the three fragments rest on Buddhist rails.

Rani Naur, North facade, upper storey :—The roof of the verandah of the lower storey formed an open terrace or balcony, as on the two wings, and had probably a Bhddhist rail on the outer edge ; but it has been destroyed by the fall of the verandah. The roof of the cells now forms a terrace and behind it, on the solid rock, there is a long verandah facing a suite of four rooms each accessible by two doors.

The verandah is 63 feet in length, 7 feet in breadth, and 7′ 6″ in height. Along its front there were originally eleven massive square pillars of which seven had fallen when I visited the place. Two of the standing pillars are visible on the accompanying plate (V), and are types of the most ancient cave style, square shafts without any distinct plinth or capitol ; the angles about the middle of the shaft chamfered to from an octagon, and having curved brackets in front, carved to represent female figures. The intercolumnar spaces measure two thicknesses of the pillars, which themselves mearure 2 feet square, 6′ 6″ in height. The rooms were designed to be oblong, 13′ 6″ x 8 feet ; but the further sides of the two central ones appear not to be completely finished, and their side walls remain so rounded as to make the apartments uncomfortable. The walls of the other rooms have their corners and angles thoroughly well cut. The ceilings are slightly arched, but otherwise perfectly bare. The mass of solid rock above being enormous, there has been no necessity for cutting shallow groves to lead the leakage from the roof to a corner, such as have been described by Major Kittoe in his *Journal*, and are to be met with under thin roofs of one-storeyed verandahs.[8]

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[8] "Before I conclude this note I must remark on the ingenious method which has been adopted to drain the chambers, which from the porous nature of the stone would otherwise have dripped in wet weather : small grooves are cut along the ceiling all verging to one point at the lower corner, where a perforation is made to conduct the water without." *Journal As. Soc.* VI., p. 1079.

The sculptured bands round the door-heads are similar to those noticed in the right wing and before the ground-floor rooms, but the piers between the doors being wider, a greater length of the rail has been shown on each pier, and its lower edge is diversified by brackets formed of crouching dwarfs. The rail, however, instead of having five bars, as in the lower storey, has only four bars, the upper and lower ones of which form the frame with the side posts. The frieze above it is by far the most interesting piece of sculpture in these caves. Beginning from the western end, the first figure (A.I. Plate VI) is purely ornamental ; a man in a conventional running, or dancing, attitude, dressed in a plaid (*dhuti*) and a scarf (*chādar*), and holding in one hand a tray of garlands and flowers, and in the other some lotus stalks bearing flower-buds and leaves. He has a turban on his head, and ornaments and flowers on the head, ears and neck. The offerings in his hands are apparently intended for Buddha, emblematically represented on the other side of the arch by two elephant calves crouching in a cave (A. 2, Plate VII). Then comes a large den, a hollow in a rock, sheltering a grown-up elephant and two elephant calves, the foremost calf crouching, and the hind one standing. The animals are tame ones, and the foremost calf shows a halter round its neck ; but they have evidently strayed away from their proper pen, and taken shelter in the cave, for there appears a large crowd of men and women assembled before them, and determined to dislodge them from their shelter by force. The foremost person in the group is a stout man, ready, with an uplifted bludgeon, to strike the nearest calf. Behind him a woman is also bent on attacking the animals, but a gentle, modest-looking lady in a veil is trying to dissuade her and drag her away by her left hand. The woman to the left of the gentle lady has thrown off her veil, and holds aloft a coil of rope—a lasso—ready to cast it on the animals. A coil of this kind has already been cast, and is seen sticking on the fiank of the foremost calf—thrown probably by the youth on the fore-ground whose mother, or some kind friend, solicitous about his welfare, has dragged him away so as to make him fall stooping forward. A second youth, on the same plane, is being dragged away by an equally anxious female relative or well-wisher. Three other females in the farthest back-ground are crowding **[8]** together in fear, or sustaining their courage by holding each other by their hands. The cave has the mark of a *svastika* over it, and is evidently intended as a representation of the Elephant Cave (Hāthi Gumphā) to be noticed below, which has a similar symbol on its front. Although the cave is not high enough to admit a full-grown tusker to enter it except in a crouching position, and it may reasonably be doubted whether a highly suspicious animal like the elephant, would enter a cave in the way, there is no inherent improbability in a small tame tusker—and such animals are not uncommon—walking in with ease. But whatever the locale, it is certain that the whole scene is a representation of certain elephants having taken possession of a sacred cave, the dwelling of some simple people, who with a party of their neighbours are trying their utmost with the very inefficient means at their disposal to dislodge them. The amount of jewelry on the persons of the people precludes the idea of their being Buddhist hermits or recluses ; but their adventure must have acquired some interest to have formed the subject of an eleaborate tableau. The story, perhaps, is related in some of the *Jātakas*, but I know nothing of it. To the extreme right of the compartment is an *aśoka* tree with drooping pennate leaves, and tufts of flowers somewhat like bunches of grapes. The tree, according to the Hindus, is an emblem of constancy in women, and the scene to follow shows that it has been most appropriately introduced here. From the top of the tree, a Brāhmaṇī goose, another emblem of constancy, is seen to fly out.

The first scene in the third compartment (A. 3) is purely ornamental ; it represents a couple of monkeys in a cave frightened out of their wits by a serpent darting forth to attack them. Next appears a young lady at the door of an artificial cave—evidently a cave from the rock-work above it, and not a hut—seated cross-legged close by a man (her husband ?), her left hand resting on her lap, and the right twining round the neck of her companion. There is a sort of a cap on her head, and a profusion of ornaments on her neck, ear, wrists, waist and ankles. The man is seated with his head resting on her lap. His expression, as far as his physiognomy can be judged from such rude decayed carving, is that of a person suffering from pain—of one either wounded or sick, or more probably asleep,—as in the counterpart of this scene in the Gaṇeśa Cave, he is represented lying in a recumbent posture on a mattress. Before the lady is seen a female of inferior rank introducing a stranger, a warrior carrying a straight broad sword, and a curiously-formed oblong shield. His halting, painful gait, with hands hanging helplessly, and the head stooping in front indicate but too plainly the story of a wounded warrior—perhaps a prinsoner—brought to the friendly succour of the lady of the cave. This is followed by the representation in which a man and a woman are engaged in a fight, armed with broad swords and oblong shields. The combatants carry their scabbards on the left side over the hip, and the lady's hair is dishevelled, hanging in a long braid down to her waist. Near the out-stretched left foot the lady, stands a pet lamb, dazed into terror and confusion by the scene. The fight lasts but for a short while ; the lady is soon overpowered ; her sword is broken and lost, and, while still holding her shield, she is borne away in the arms of her assailant, who carries his sword uplifted. Near the crest of the third arch two tiger cubs are seen crouching in their lair, counter-balanced on the opposite side by the figure of a goose running out to attack somebodys.

The fourth tableau repesents a royal hunt (A. 4). In the centre is a tree bearing large lotus-like flowers which from their eyes I should take to be sun flowers, (*pentapetes phoenicea*), though the tree in that case should have been smaller :—but for the eyes they could have passed for the *Hibiscus mutabilis*, which bears the name of the *sthalapadma* or "land lotus" ; and from behind the tree a king, or a man of consequence, has just shot an arrow at a long-horned antelope bounding away from before him with the shaft sticking on (or a wing attached to ?) its flank. The archer is richly clad, and has a sword by his side, and holds the bow in the true ancient Indian style, which is the same as the English, and draws the string up to his ears, and not to his breast as did the Assyrians and also the Macedonians of old. Behind him is his led-horse, richly caparisoned with a heavy pad, a many-strapped briddle, and a thickly-plumed crest, and followed by a retinue of servants holding an umbrella and *chowris*. The groom is a boy, ill-clothed and without ornaments. Under the antelope shot are three fawns, and before them stands a hunter holding his bow reversed, after having discharged his arrow at an antelope in advance of him, while a lady seated on a tree beholds the scene from above. The foliage and flowers of this tree are similar to those of the tree in the second compartment, and so it may be taken for a *Jonesia Aśoka*. Near the crest of the fourth arch is a weasel or other animal with a long bushy tail trailing on the ground. Being far beyond the range of the hunter's arrow, it finds itself secure enough to look leisurely at the scene on the fore-ground.

The figures on the fifth compartment (A.5) have been greatly injured and it is difficult to describe them fully ; and their purport is not clearly evident. As far as they can be made out, we have on the one side a man of rank seated on a stool, with his legs hanging down, and attended by a band of females bearing *chowris* and other articles of pomp, and beholding a consort in front ; and on the other a female recluse seated cross-legged on a stool, and offering adorations to a small *chaitya* placed [9] before her. A boy in the fore-ground is similarly occupied with folded hands. The man on the stool may, from his heavy pectoral muscles be mistaken for a female, but, examined carefully, it will be seen at once that those muscles are not the compact hemispheres which the sculptor has given to all the women in the other parts of this frieze. The necklace too is of that flattened ligulate from which is invariably and exclusively found round the neek of men—never on women. It appears much more consistent too that the man who, in the preceding compartment, tried to entertain the captive fair by an antelope hunt, should in this preside over the concert for her entertaiment, instead of employing a woman to do the same : to win the affection of the captive, he should himself come forward to bring the charms of music to bear on her pensive heart, and not resort to a substitute

The sixth tableau is even more defective and blurred than the last (A. 6, Plate XI). It represents three groups ; first a man and a woman seated on separate chairs, and engaged in pleasant converse with their hands resting on each other ; in the second the woman, having left her own chair, takes her seat on the left thigh of the man ; in the third they are both seated on the bare ground. The last compartment repeates the running figure of the first—a *jawāb*, or counterpart, to mark the completion of the frieze. It has the tray of flowers and garland on the left hand, but, instead of a bunch of lotus stalks in the other, it carries in its right hand a large roll of wavy ornamental cord, or a monster garland, for the decoration of a *chaitya* or some other sacred shrine. This roll frequently occurs in the bas-reliefs of both Sāñchī and Amarāvatī, but made on a much larger scale, so as to require the services of many men to carry it. Mr. Fergusson thus describes it in his *Tree and Serpent Worship :* "Nothing can well be better, as architectural ornament, than the wavy flow of long roll, borne by animated figures, and interspersed with emblems appropriate to the dedication of the tope . . . . . Like the last described features, it seems to be of Bactrian origin. Some thing at least very like it occurs among the sculptures at Jamālgiri near Peshawar and there so mixed with classical details as to make it appear very ancient.[9] Something very like it is still used, I am told, in Burmah. On the occasion of the funeral of the late High Priest at Rangoon, long rolls, made as lightly as possible of paper, and bound round with rags and coloured decorations, were borne by men on each side of the procession in precisely the same manner as here represented, and probably the same practice will be found elsewhere when looked for. At Amarāvatī the roll is not only most elaborately, but also very tastefully, ornamented, and so interspersed with emblems as to give it all the variety requisite for architectural embellishment."[10] The representation of the roll on the Jamālgiri stone is imperfect, and does not adequately portray the magnitude of the Amarāvatī specimen. In either case, however, the object may be taken to be a monster garland designed for decorative purposes ; and if so, with every deference to the opinion of so great an authority as Mr. Fergusson, I must confess my inability to perceive its Bactrian origin. Garlands of flowers or other materials have been known and used for decoration alike by civilised and uncivilised races in all parts of the world, and large and lengthy specimens of them are made when required to be festooned on bulky objects, and we know they were so made for ornamenting large topes ; they have invariably been met with in Buddhist sculptures, and there is nothing in these premises to necessitate a resort to Bactria to trace the origin of such garlands. At first sight, the garland in the Udayagiri frieze may be mistaken for a serpent, but its uniform thickness throughout the whole length and the ornamental carving on it, forbid such a conclusion.[11]

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[9] *Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal,* XXI., p.609. Plate XXXIV.

[10] *Tree and Serpent Worship,* p.169.

[11] Long after the ms. of this chapter had been sent to press, I had an opportunity of reading the 2nd edition of Mr. Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship,* in which he devoted a few pages to the Udayagiri Caves. His remarks have not necessitated any change in my text ; and as he admits at the close of his remarks that the account of the caves "is from the circumstances of the case necessarilly incomplete, and liable to modification on more detailed information being obtained" (p. 174) ; it would not have been necessary under ordinary circumstances to notice them ; but the high position which he holds in Indian archaeology, the great weight which his opinions carry, and his prophetic criticism with which he has honoured me, saying, not without justification that I am in no way sufficiently grounded either as an architect or archaeologist to settle many questions, "which" he would like to see "scientifically discussed," and that my researches are not likely "to be worth much more than the value of the paper on which they may be written," render it expedient that I should point out where I differ from him and the reasons why I do so, in order that my readers my be in a position easily to determine which of my opinions may be accepted as concurring with those of Mr. Fergusson, and which may be rejected as dissenting from them.

Adverting to the Rani Naur he says : "The sculptures and architectural ornaments on the outside have been dreadfully disfigured and cut away by its modern inhabitants to accommodate their rude additions," (p. 266). The disfigurement, as shown above, is due to age and climatic causes, and not to any irreverent iconoclastic hands : and I have no hesitation in saying that there is not the smallest ornamental addition of a modern date to this cave. Smoking the chambers and galleries by lighting fires within them, is the only addition of which the modern *byragis* who dwelt in the caves, can be declared guilty.

Ganesa Gumpha :—A counterpart of this frieze occurs in a cave above and a little to the north-east of the Rānī Naur right on the highest crest of Udayagiri (Plate I. A). The cave is one-storeyed, and is divided into two compartments with a verandah in front (Plate XXVII). The four sides of the latter are of different dimensions, [10] the front line being 30 feet, the off line 31 ft., the left side 6′ 6″ and the right side 7 feet. It is faced by a range of five massive square pillars, of which two have fallen and disappeared. The tops of the pillars have brackets projecting forwards with female figures carved on them, to afford a sort of ornamental support to the caves of the roof, which come out a good deal beyond the line of the architrave, but without any indication of a regular cornice. The flight of steps leading to the verandah is flanked by a crouching elephant on each side, holding by its trunk a mass of lotus-stalks bearing leaves and buds and one open flower, artistically displayed in the centre of the bundle (C. 6 Plate XX). There are figures of elephants in bas-relief at the two ends of the architrave. These elephants probably have led in some way to the cave's being called Gaṇeśa Gumphā or 'the Cave of Gaṇeśa', the elaphocephalic god, for there is nothing else to justify the attribution of the cave to a Hindu divinity. The rooms are quadrangular in shape, but their sides, like those of the verandah, are unequal, the average being 15 feet x 7 feet, (Plate XIV). They are, as elsewhere, perfectly plane and devoid of windows, but the door frames on the outside are flanked with pilasters having deer capitals (C. 8 Plate XXIV), and semicircular arched bands similar to, but not exactly like, the exemplars in the Queen's Palace. The frieze occurs on three piers between the arches. On the first (C. I Plate XV) the husband or wounded man, is seen reclining on a mattress under a tree in front of a cave, with his head resting on his right fore-arm, which serves the purpose of a pillow. His right leg is stretched at length, but the left is contracted, and near it sits a woman to shampoo him. The visitor introduced by the second woman has no sword nor shield, and his halting painful gait, hand on hip, and head and arms hanging down, plainly indicate that he is a wounded person, and absolutely forbid the theory of his being a lover brought in by a go-between, and saluting the lady. The action of the lady may be interpreted to be that of annoyance, and her extended left hand accepted as an indication of her direction to the stranger to go away : but the figure is not sufficiently expressive to make this clear : the extended hand may mean other feelings besides that of repulsion. The fight and the abduction are precisely the same as in the Queen's Palace frieze, with the exception of the dazed lamb, which is wanting, as also the sword in the hand of the female captive, which she is supposed to have dropped. Near to the crest of the arch in seen a Brāhmaṇī goose running away. The second compartment was never completed. Through a stupid blunder, the artist chiselled the rail border on the top, and not at the bottom as in the first compartment and at Rāṇī Naur, and, on his discovering his error, left the pannel uncarved. The third (C. 3, Plate XVI) opens with a body of kilted soldiers with drawn swords chasing the ravisher, who is shooting arrows at them from the top of his elephant. The lady, seated behind him, is leaning backwards to deliver to one of her rescuers a bag or bundle, containing some of her effects. The chase proves ineffectual ; the soldiers are routed ; and the ravisher, further on, makes his elephant sit down, dismounts himself, and leads the lady on in an endearing manner; but she is inconsolable, and is seen sitting at the end of the tableau amidst a group of unfriendly attendants, in a desponding mood, with her head resting on the palm of her hand. The identification of the male rider on the elephant with the ravisher of the first compartment might be objected to on the ground of the former being dressed in a tunic with a fringed skirt, whereas the latter is dressed in a plaid (*dhuti*) without any tunic on the body; but it is evident that the artist did not much mind unity of costume in his composition, for the ravisher, or whoever he be, appears again in a *dhuti* descending from the elephant. The kilt of the rescuers is worthy of note. It affords a remarkable proof of the existence, or at least of the knowledge, of made-dresses among the people of this country at an early period in their history. A counterpart of this kilt occurs on a piece of sculpture lately discovered at Bharāhat near Nagode. Commenting on it, General Cunningham says: "Here we can see the soldier with short curly hair, clad in jacket or tunic, which is tied at the waist, and a *dhuti* reaching below the knees, with long boots ornamented with a tassel in front, just like Hessians, and armed with a straight broad sword, of which the scabbard is three inches wide." This piece of sculpture is of the age of Aśoka. To persons imbued with the theory of Greek origin of Indian architecture, the soldiers may be taken for Greeks; but seeing that their coats on which the inference will be based, are as unlike Greek *chitons* or *chlamyses*, as one made-dress can be to another, I cannot accept it. The question at issue being, whether the Indians knew and used made-dresses, and the sculpture being adduced as a proof, it would involve a *petitio principii* to say that it cannot be a proof, because it contains the representation of a made-dress.

Interpretation of the subject of the Friezes:—The meaning of the subjects represented in the friezes, may be interpreted in two different ways; 1st, by supposing them to be unconnected, independent, fancy pictures of scenes in social life; 2nd by taking them to be representations of the different stages of an historical occurrence, or a favourite old legend. According to the former, the first tableau of the Rāṇī Naur, would be a religious procession; the second, a rustic scene; the third, a battle between men and women; the fourth, a deer hunt; the fifth, a concert and a religious ceremony; the sixth. a domestic scene; and the first of Gaṇeśa series, a battle; and the third, an attempt at rescuing a woman from the hands of her abductor, the second being wanting: and according to the legend, [11] a stroy of an abduction and its sequel. The first supposition does not, however, appear to me to be by any means a probable one; the beginning in either series with an abduction, the chase after the ravisher in the second series, the presence of a woman on a tree in the hunting scene, the union in the fifth tableau of music and *chaitya* worship, the emblems of constancy, the consecutive order of the scenes, are all against it; and I am disposed, therefore, to accept the second branch of the alternative as the more probable one,

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Believing, then, that the friezes portray the different stages of a connected story, the first question to be decided is, are the two friezes intended to delineate the same story, or two different sotries? The identity of the battle scene in the two friezes does not, however, leave much room for doubt in the matter, notwithstanding the difference of the third scene in the Gaṇeśa frieze.[12] In pictorial representations, it is impossible to detail all the circumstances which an historian finds it his duty to record ; the artist is obliged, from the nature of his art, to seize only the more salient and striking points of his story—those which are likely to produce the most effective representations—and the omission of the attempt at rescure in one version, and its insertion in the other according to the taste or fancy of the artists, therefore, cannot alter the subject. The general character of the two friezes is so very alike that it irresistibly impresses on my mind the identity of the story, notwithstanding slight differences of drapery and accessories, and I can appeal to the treatment of Biblical and also historical subjects by different mediaeval and modern artists of Europe, as striking illustrations of such deviations, without altering the subject. It is worthy of note, also, that the hero on the elephant is dressed in a *kilt*, but when descending from it he appears in a *dhuti*, just as in the battle scene both in the Rāṇī Naur and Gaṇeśa bas-reliefs, showing clearly that the artist was not mindful about the unity of the dress of his figures.

The second question is, as to whether the abducted person is intended to be a married woman or a maiden. It may be said that the lady is a married woman, and not a maiden, for the manner in which she sits in the company of a man at the opening scene in the Queen's Palace would be inconsistent in a maiden. The shampooing in the Gaṇeśa Cave, may be for a parent, but the close seat with the right hand round the neck of the male personage in the other would be highly unbecoming in an unmarried female. But if the stooping figure be taken to be that of a wounded man, a wounded priest for instance, the lady may be a maiden nursing him without any offence to propriety. It is true that the

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12. Mr. Fergusson is of opinion that "the bas-relief on the Gaṇeśa Cave seems to represent quite different people, and another story altogether ; and though the bas-relief in the Rāj Rānī is certainly continuous, it represents scenes of hunting, eating, drinking, dancing, and such other scenes, as we are already familiar with at Sāñchī, but which hardly aid us in ascertaining who the individual performers are." (*Tree and Serpent Worship*, 2nd ed., p.268). Mr. Fergusson evidently means the Rānī Naur, for the Rāj Rānī is a Hindu shrine six miles away from Udayagiri and it has no running frieze of the kind under notice. At the Rānī Naur, there is no scene of eating and drinking, and I cannot get out of what Mr. Fergusson has inferred it. There is nothing too to support the conjecture that the people represented in the two friezes are different. Leaving out of consideration such unimportant details as the dazed lamb and the like, the two scenes are as like each other as the same subject painted or sculptured by two independent artists, one not copying from the other, can well be. Mr. Fergusson himself in one place admits this, and says : "Among the sculptures one of the most remarkable is the left hand one of the two that adorn the Gaṇeśa Gumphā. The subject is purely historical, and represents the rape of some Orissan Helen, or rather some Hippolite, who is carried off on the right, in spite of the fighting prowess of her companion in arms, or the tardy succour of the sleeping hero on the left. This evidently is some favourite Orissan legend, for we have the same story repeated in the Rāj Rānī (? Rānī Naur) Cave without any variation except differences of costume and style. As will be observed, his wife sits watched by the sleeper on the left, this time, however in a hut or house instead of under a tree, as in the upper bas-relief," (p. 267). It is difficult to reconcile this with the first statement that the Gaṇeśa frieze represents "quite different people, and another story altogether" : both can scarely be correct. As already pointed out in the text, the scene is, in either case, a spot in front of a cave, and not within a cave in one version, and under a tree in the other.

appearance of the figure lying on the mattress does not indicate suffering from a wound, but in the Rāṇī Naur frieze, the stooping head affords some indication of it. There is nothing, however, to necessitate the identification of the first lady with the abducted fair one. The first may be the wife of the man beside whom she sits, and the second a maiden distinct from her. The theory which would cannect the first with the second would take the person who brings the visitor to be a go-between, probably a maid-servant, or a village crony, and the person brought, a lover, who, failing in his suit, attempts force ; but his halting, painful gait, to indicate which the rude but really talented artist has taken great pains, belies this supposition. Besides, it is not at all necessary to identify the visitor, the combatant, and the ravisher, to be the same person represented in different stages of the story. In archaic sculpture, whether Egyptian, Greek or Assyrian, nothing is more common, in representing contests between two different classes of opponents, than the endeavour to show the unequal, and yet equally balanced, "fortune of war" by giving *here* an instance of one side vanquished, *there* of another, Taking the two favourite subjects with the Greeks, the contest between the Lapithae and the Centaurs (Phigaleian, Parthenon and Theseum sculptures in the British Museum), and those between the Greeks and the Amazons, we find in one slab a Lapith or an Amazon worsted, and in the next he or she victorious over a Centaur or an Athenian ; and this is exactly what occurs in the frieze under notice,—in the middle a battle, with a man vanquished and led in as a prisoner by a woman on the one side, and a woman overcome on the opposite side, and, instead of being dragged or led along, is, as may be expected, carried away in his arms by the man, who is in this case the victor. The first couple may be husband and wife [12] friendly to the cause of the Amazonian ladies. There is nothing inconsistent in this, and a fight between men and women cannot be improbable, where women go about armed with swords and shields. Even if it be supposed that the attack is on a single woman, still it is evident that the attempt is not upon a helpless person utterly unable to defend herself. She is evidently of a martial character, and does not yield herself up until after a good fight and with a sword and a shield, in course of which she is worsted and disarmed. This would imply a Kṣatrīya woman, a princess, who ordinarily went forth armed, much in the same way as Marhatta and Rajput women of quality generally did till the beginning of this century, and still occasionally do in some places. If the lady be the same who first appears with her husband, the question may be asked what became of the husband immediately after the abduction ? But his wounded appearance in the opening scene does not warrant any expectation of his taking an active part in the rescue. If he did attempt anything, he must have been so wounded in the first onslaught as to be placed *hors de combat*. The theory that the fight is between some men and women, would raise no such question. The day of the abduction was probably that of the encounter with the elephants in the cave, at which, according to the first theory, the husband was wounded, and after which the husband and wife had retired to an adjoining cave to take rest, away from their followers. The Gaṇeśa frieze introduces a tree at the resting-place, but the cave-door is not omitted, an arched prominence behind the tree clearly indicates its existence.[13] The second theory would assume certain ladies going to the cave, a sacred place, where they were over taken by the men. Under either supposition, a lady, maiden or married, was abducted. The deer hunt in the Queen's Palace appears to be intended to serve as a diversion to win the affection of the captive fair one. The second compartment of the Gaṇeśa frieze, would have given some detail of the occurrences, which intervened between the abduction, and the attempt at rescue, but unfortunately it is a blank.

The sequel of the story is doubtful. Immediately after the abduction, it is but natural that the lady should appear in great grief, in a desponding mood, as in the Gaṇeśa tableau, spurning the advances of her ravisher, or in despair turning her attention to the solace of religion, and devoting herself, as befits a Buddhist maiden, to the adoration of the of the *caitya* as in the Queen's Palace. If a married lady, her constancy and faith are best indicated by the Aśoka tree and the Brāhmaṇī goose, which are most appropriately introduced. But, if so, what is the meaning of the last scene in which a man and a women are engaged in amorous dalliance ? Dose it indicate that, according to the Rāṇī Naur version of the story, the Orissan Helen, like her archetype of Greece, took kindly to her abductor and lived happily with him ? If so, the emblems of constancy and faith, the Aśoka tree and the Brāhmaṇī goose, would be quite out of place and the morality of the representation would be such as not to render it worthy of record in a Buddhist monastery. This may be explained away by taking the last tableau to be a representation of the restoration of the abducted fair one to her liege lord ; and it is a Buddhist version of the heroine of the Rāmāyaṇa, and not of the epoea of Homer, that we have before us. I am not aware of any Buddhist legend to serve as the prototype of this representation. Part of the story may be taken for the abduction of Sītā by the mighty giant of Ceylon and her subsequent confinement in an Aśoka grove, but the details are entirely against such an identification. The Sītā of the Buddhist legend in the *Daśaratha Jātaka*, was never abducted from her brother and husband Rāma,[14] and so the picture cannot be intended for her. Nor can we for a moment suppose any relation between the story of the frieze and the mistress of Paris. All that may be safely concluded is, that the frieze records the abduction of a married woman, her constancy and faith, and probably also her final restoration to her husband. Such a story would be a most appropriate one for representation in a Buddhist monastery, and its counterpart will most probably be met with in one of the Jātakas or Avadānas, of which so many hundreds are extant, and so few have as yet been examined. The second theory of the lady being a maiden, to which I am disposed to give greater credence, would obviate all difficulties. She is carried away by force, and is for a time in a desponding mood, and driven to seek solace in religion, notwithstanding various attempts to divert her, but ultimately she yields to her ravisher and is united to him. Marriage, under such circumstances, is admitted to be right and proper: there is no immorality, at least in Indian estimation, in a marriage of this kind, and Buddhist monks may well represent it on the walls of a monastery without any compunctious visitings of conscience. For an abducted maiden who marries and remains faithful to his abductor, the emblems of constancy would not be inappropriate. Further, we may well believe that the representation was caused to be made by the prince, who had the caves bored, and the monks came in without any thought as to the propriety or otherwise of the representation. Of course there is nothing against the presumption that it was intended to depict an historical fact, but what it was it is impossible now to determine. A story is told of an abduction by Purușottama Deo of Orissa of a princess from Kaliṅga. He invaded Conjeverem and brought away Padmāvatī, the beauteous and accomplished daughter of the king of that place, and made her over, in fulfilment of a vow, to his chief minister, in order to wed her to a sweeper. "Both the minister, however, and all the people of Puri, commiserated her misfortune, and at the next Rath Jātra, when the Mahārājā [13] began to perform his office of Chandāl (sweeper) the individual entrusted with the charge of the lady, brought her forth and presented her to him, saying, 'You ordered me to give the Princess to a sweeper: you are the sweeper upon whom I bestow her.' Moved by the intercession of his subjects, the Rājā at last consented to marry Padmāvatī, and carried her to the palace at Cuttack. The end of this lady's history is as romantic as the preceding portion of it. She is said to have conceived and brought forth a son by Mahādeo, and shortly after she disappeared. All the circumstances were explained to the husband in a dream, who acknowledged gratefully the honor conferred on him, and declared the child thus mysteriously born his successor in the Rāj."[15] This is stated in the temple records of Puri to have happened at about the close of the 15th century, and, as the fact was written down at the time of the occurrence, there is no doubt as to the historical character of the first part of the princess's story; and knowing how readily the gods have in all ages and everywhere intervened to explain away, or cast a halo, over awkward incidents of birth in high life, we easily overlook the second. Orme takes the story back to a much earlier period, but not sufficiently early to make it anterior to the era when the caves were excavated; and there are so many discrepanices between the story of the frieze and that of the temple records and of Orme, that it is impossible to accept them as the same. The only circumstance common to the three versions is the abduction of a woman; and this, in the annals of the human race, has been so common in all ages and in every clime, that it cannot be accepted as a reliable datum for any historical inference. The case is different as regards the hero of the Hāthi Gumphā inscription to be noticed further on. The cave shown on the second tableau of the Queen's Palace frieze (Plate VII) is, as already stated, most probably a carved representation of the Hāthi Gumphā cave; and if so, it would follow that the hero delineated in the frieze should be accepted as a plastic representation of the person decribed in the inscription. Now a marriage of that person with the daughter of a conquered hill chief is mentioned in the monument, and he is repeatedly said to have caused various caves to be bored, and it would not be by any means unreasonable to suppose that he caused the story of his romantic marriage to be sculptured in the frieze. Unfortunately the inscription is so obliterated at the part where the marriage is mentioned, that it is impossible to gather any details of that incident, and the identification of the hero of the inscription with the abductor in the frieze must remain a mere conjecture.

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[13] Mr. Fergusson has overlooked this cave-door and the rock-work over it. (*Tree and Serpent Worship*, 2nd ed., p. 267.)

[14] *Ante* I, p. [90].

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[15] Sterling's 'Orissa', *Asiatic Researches*, XV., p. 282.

The only arguments that can be brought forward in favour of the last conjecture are, the presence of the Svastika mark at the beginning of the Elephant cave inscription, and also on the elephant cave delineated on the frieze, the prominent position which the frieze occupies in the monastery, the labour and expense which have been incurred in carving it, and the association of the name of the place with a queen. But on the other hand, the Svastika mark occurs so frequently both in Buddhist and Hindu records that it cannot be accepted as a safe guide. Then a rich and elaborate frieze occupying a prominent position, as friezes usually do, does not necessarily imply that the history of the founder of the structure on which it occurs is given in it; and all friezes designed as they are to serve as ornaments, must involve labour and expense, for we scarcely can separate the idea of ornament from labour and taste. There is, beside, literally not a little of evidence to show that the cave under notice was from the first called Rāṇī Naur or Rāṇī Gumphā, 'the Queen's Palace,' and the argument founded upon the name is, therefore, hardly a convincing one. Any hypothesis founded on it would be a conclusion drawn from an unknown premise. Further, there are two Queens connected with the history of the cave, the wife of the hero of the inscription and that of Lalatendra Keśarī, The latter is said to have been the last occupant of the cave. This is based on the assertion of some *byrāgis* or mendicants, whom Sterling questioned on the subject in the early part of this century, and its utter mendacity will be apparent when the fact is called to mind that Lalatendra Keśarī was a devout Śivite, who completed the Great Temple of Bhuvaneśara, and his wife was the least likely to seek the asylum of a of a Buddhist sanctuary. If, on the authority of the *byrāgis*, it be accepted that the queen had abjured Hinduism, and, becoming a Buddhist nun, had betaken to the monastery, the argument will not be advanced in the least. We must, on the same authority, believe the queens to have been "the last occupant," and not the founder. The present name may have come from her, or more probably from the queen in the frieze interpreted by a modern observer; but that does not suffice to associate the foundation of the cave with a queen. It is worthy of note also that there are three friezes in the monastery, and only one of them gives the story of the abduction, and I can see nothing to justify the selection of the last for the history of the founder. Moreover, the cave above, which has an only frieze and that of the abduction, is named, not after the queen, but after Gaṇeśa, a Hindu god, who had as little connexion with it as with the topes of Sāñchī or the Tower of the Sārnāth. The name of a thing, it may be added, is not of itself sufficient to afford any clue to its origin; its authenticity and antiquity must be first proved before it [14] can be used as evidence, and proof to that effect in the present instance is entirely wanting. It may be presumed that the queen of the inscription gave her name to the cave, but it cannot be accepted as proved fact.

Svargapuri Caves :—To the west of the Queen's Palace, at the head of the road proceeding northwards from the Government bungalow and the *byrāgi's maṭh*, there is a flight of steps leading to the upper floor of a two-storeyed range of caves called Svargapuri, or "the celestial regions". (Plate I, C, and Plate XVII). It offers one of two instances in Udayagiri, in which caves of one storey have beem cut right on the top of another. or, in other words, of a really two-storeyed structure,—such as *houses* are,—and not merely apparently two-storeyed but really one-storeyed, the upper one resting on solid rock right above but behind the lower storey, as in the Queen's Palace. The lower storey includes a suite of two rooms with a range of verandah divided into two by a partition wall, with a hall on the right hand side. The pillars of the verandah have fellen down, exposing the interior; but the hall on the side remains intact. It has an only door-way, but of large size, framed with side pilasters and an arched ornamental band over the door-head. From the top of the pilasters, runs, laterally on each side, a line of Buddhist rails surmounted by an elephant in bas-relief, with a human figure and a tree behind it. The elephants are remarkably well carved, and in good preservation (Plate XVII), but the human figures are very much defaced. The tympanum of the door had some carving on it, probably a female standing on a lotus bush, but it is so broken that nothing satisfactory can be made out of it. The upper floor includes, like the lower, two rooms, with a verandah in front. The front pillars are broken, but from the remnants of two on the partition wall they appear to have been of the Queen's Palace type, square above and below, and octagonal in the middle of the shaft. No carving or inscription of any kind occurs in this range. Passing from the verandah to the right-hand side on the top of the hall, the visitor comes to a small open terrace, having on one side a mound-like prominence with a cubical chamber on top, barely large enough to hold an emaciated man in a sitting posture. By the side of this prominence, a few rough steps lead to the top of the left wing of the Queen's Palace.

Jaya-vijaya Caves :—To the left of the last named group, there is a suite of two rooms with a corridor in front. (Plate I, D). This my guide designated Haṃśapur, but some of his companions called it Jayā-vijayā. The porch is 8 feet by 3 feet, and the corridor 13 by 6 feet. The inner edge of the latter has a raised plinth on three sides, and behind it are the two rooms, one 7ft. 6″ x 6 ft. 6″ and the other 6 ft. 6″ x 6 feet The dimensions are average, as the rooms are not exact parallelograms. The doors (one to each room) are of the usual size and style, framed with side pilasters and arched bands. and having a frieze of the true Buddhist type. The last comprises three compartments with two intervening archways. The archways are exact counterparts of similar structures in the Queen's Palace and the Gaṇeśa caves, flanked with flat pilasters with lion capitals. The base of the frieze is formed of a line of Buddhist rails. The principal subject of the frize occurs in its central compartment, a "*bo* tree" surrounded by a fence, exactly like what may be seen in the bas-reliefs of Sāñchī and Amarāvatī (Plate XIX). On the two sides of the tree are two male figures, the one on the left standing with folded hands in deep devotion,—the other on the right holding, with one hand, a bit of cloth tied to the tree, and a sprig of the tree in the other. Besides the men, are two elderly ladies bringing trays of offerings. The scroll-work on the semi-circular bands over the doorways are, as elsewhere, dissimilar, and beyond them, on the outer piers, are two burly figures in turbans, advancing with trays of offerings exactly like those noticed in the Queen's Palace and the Gaṇeśa frieze. Flanking the facade are two alto-rilievo figures, a man and a woman, each six feet high, wearing a conical cap, and a heavy chignon. The man is dressed in *dhuti* and *cādar*, and the woman stands in a modest graceful attitude in her *sārī*.

To the left of this cave, on a higher level, looking very like an appurtenance to the main structure, there is a small chamber called Dvārkāpura—(Plate I, D). It bears no architectural ornament of any kind, and, but for the separate name, would have claimed no notice.

Gopalpura and Munchapura :—A few feet below and to the north-west of the last, there are two unpretending little groups of caves (Plate I, E and F), which bear the modern names of Gopālapura, and Munchapura. The larger of the two, sometimes called Martyaloka, 'the region of mortals,' and also Mānikapura, or the 'jewel cave,' comprises a hall 33 ft. 4" by 6 by 7, two side-rooms, and a verandah 25 feet 4 inches long. The hall was originally divided into two rooms by a partition wall which has, however, long since been knocked down. The side rooms are accessible by the verandah. On the piers of the hall there are two inscriptions in the Lāṭ character, but both worn out and indistinct, and altogether the group is of little interest as a relic of the past.

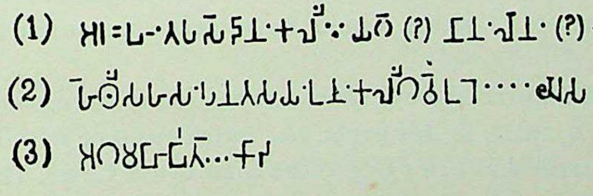
Vaiknutha, Patalapura and Jomapura Caves :—Further north-west, a little above the level of the surrounding country, we come to a two-storeyed range designed somewhat in the style of the Queen's Palace, but on a smaller scale. (Plate I. G). The storeys are so arranged, as not to rest directly one above the other, but the upper recedes so as to [15] leave the top of the lower one open to form a terrace. The upper storey is called Vaikuṇṭhapura, and the lower, Pātālapura. The lower storey comprises a suite of three rooms, two on a line facing the west, and one on the south, projecting considerably beyond the line of the former, the whole protected by a verandah in front. The eastern rooms are of a trapezoid shape, the extreme length before and behind differing by about I foot, the breadth being 7 feet. Each room has two doors opening into the verandah. The southern room is also a trapezium 10 feet in length on the western side, and 11 ft. 6" on the southern, the breadth being, as before, 7 feet. It opens into the verandah by a single door. The door-ways are framed with side pilasters and semicircular arched bands on the top as in the Queen's Palace, but without any intervening frieze. The two ends of the verendah project forward to the extent of about 5 feet. Its pillars are now very much decayed, and mis-shapen, but originally they were of the Queen's Palace type, square above and below, and octagonal in the centre. The architrave once had a deep frieze formed of basso-rilievo figures of men and animals, but they have been long since so destroyed, defaced and weather-worn that nothing but faint traces of the figures are now visible. Above this frieze, over a slightly projecting cornice, there is a Buddhist four-barred rail along the whole length, forming a protecting fence for the verandah above ; but it has been very much defaced by the ravages of time.

A little beyond the northern projection of the verandah, there is a hollow flight of steps reaching to the upper storey, which is an exact counterpart of the lower floor except that on the east side, there is only one room running along the whole length of the verandah, and having three doors, and the side room has, in the middle of the western wall, a window of a much larger size than any that I have seen on this hill. The dimensions of the eastern room are 22′ x 6′ 6″, that of the southern room 9′ x 6″, both average, and that of the verandah 24′ x 3″ feet. The doors measure 3½ feet by 2, and have the usual side pilasters and semicircular arched bands, but no frieze. The verandah had a range of four detached and two attached pillars, of which the last only are now visible. On the architrave on the top of the verandah, there was a frieze of angels, elephants, devotees, the *bo* tree, the wheel of law, &c., but they are hardly distinguishable now,

To the west of the southern room and forming the right wing of the Pātālapura caves there is a small room running east and west, with two doors and a verandah divided into two intercolumniations by a heavy pillar in the middle. At the corner where the verandah starts from the Pātālapura range there is an alto-rilievo figure against the side pier, in imitation of the sentinel before the right wing of the Queen's Palace. The cave is in a very ruinous condition now, and bears the appropriate name of Jamapura or "Hades." The "Exterior View of a Vihāra on the Udayagiri Hill" in Mr. Fergusson's Illustrations of the *Rock-cut Temples of India* represents the three caves of Vaikuṇṭha, Pātālapura and Jamapura.

On the right hand pier of the centre door, of the Vaikuṇṭha range, there is a Pāli inscription in the Lāṭ character, which is very carefully and deeply cut, but it is in several places doubtful, and its meaning cannot therefore be precisely made out.

The text, as far as it can be made out, runs as follows :—In Pāli :—



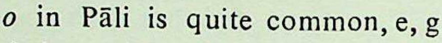
Transcript in Roman character : *Arahanta pasādānam Kaliṅga . . . . ya . . . . nānam lonakāḍatam rājinolasa . . . . Heṭhi sāasam panotasaya . . . . . Kaliṅga-velasa . . . . Agamahi pitā—kaḍa* . . . . . Translation : "Excavation of the *rājās* of Kaliṅga, enjoying the favour of the Arhantas, Buddhist saints, (the rest too fragmentary to be rendered with any degree of certainty.)". Prinsep.

The most important word in this, and indeed in most of the Udayagiri records, is *lonam*. Adverting to it, James Prinsep says : "In my search for some of the catchwords which have proved of such avail in explaining the purport of the inscriptions of

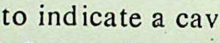
Bhilsā and Sainhādri, I could neither meet with the *dānam* of the former, nor the *deya dhamma* of the latter,—but in their stead I remarked a very common, if not constant, termination in a word of two syllables 𑀮𑁄𑀡𑀁 *lonam*, or 𑀮𑀼𑀡𑀁 *lunam* preceded in most instances by the genitival affix 𑀲 *sa* ; and in the only case as of exception, by an equally regular genitive 𑀲𑀺𑀭𑀺𑀦𑁄 *sirino* from the noun *sīri,* (Sanskrit root *sīra* gen. *Sīriṇaḥ*), a worshipper of the sun. It was not until after many futile attempts with the paṇdit to find a better, that we were led to the supposition that the word *lonam* or *lunam*, must be the Pāli equivalent for the Sanskrit participial noun *lūnam*, 'cut' or 'excavated' ; in this the vowel is changed from *u* to *o,* and the *n* from the dental to the Prākṛt cerebral :—but in sound, it must be confessed that there is little difference ; [16] while in sense, the term satisfies precisely the circumstances of the Udayagiri caves, which are generally small holes cut with the chisel from the solid rock,—a stone of loose consistency easily worked with the rudest tools".16 The only meaning attached to *lonam* in Childer's *Pāli Dictionary* is salt, a corruption of the Sanskrit *lavana*, the *v* of Pāli and Prākṛt changing along with its preceding and following short vowels into *o.* That meaning cannot, however, be accepted here, and Prinsep is perfectly right, therefore, to look to the Sanskrit *lūna*, a cut, derived from the root *lū*, to cut, as the original of the *lonam.* In Sanskrit, we have *lūna* and *lavana* for a wound, or that which is cut off or broken, and *lūna* for cutting, and the change of *ū* into *o* in Pāli is quite common, e, g., *sokara* for *sūkara*, a hog. The root *lū*, to cut or reap, is in use in modern Pāli. And the name of one of the Ellora, caves, *Dumār Leina* 'the cave,' = *Leina* or *lona*, 'of virtue', = *Duma, Dharma,* affords an instance of the use of the term to indicate a cave. I am not satisfied, however, with the derivation assigned to the word *sīrino.* Doubtless, the root of *sīra*, also written *śira* with the cerebral sibilant, is *sar* ; but the epithet would be by no means becoming a Buddhist monk, such as the party indicated in the inscription unquestionably was ; I am disposed, therefore, to take it as a derivative of *śrī*, 'to honor' or 'to be honored,' whence the Sanskrit *śiras* which in Pāli would be *sira*, and applying after it the affix in the word would mean 'the venerable', which would be a very appropriate title for a holy man, Buddhist or otherwise.

In the verandah of the lower storey, there are two short inscriptions in the same character. Prinsep has given them in his paper, but owing to some mistake on the part of his informant, they are described as belonging to the Mānikpura Caves. They run thus :-

No. 1.—In Pali.



eight letter lost, then



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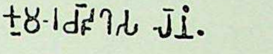
16. *Journal, As. Soc., Beng,* VI, p. 1073.

In Roman character :—*Virasa mahārājasa kaliṅgādhipa . . . . kadepa sirino lonam.*

Translation :—The cave of the Māhārājā Vira, (mighty sovereign) the lord of Kaliṅga . . . . the cave of the venerable Kadepa.

No. 2.—In Pali.



In Roman character :—*Kumāra vidukhasa lonam.*

Translation :—The cave of Prince Viḍukha, (the misfortuneless).

The use of the causal verb *dātam* shows clearly that a Rājā of Kaliṅga contributed the expenses of excavating the caves. But for whom were they cut ? The possessives followed by the noun *lonam*, 'cave', in the singular in the lower storey records would suggest that Kadepa, the holy man or priest named, was the person for whom they were intended. But the occurrence of the Prince Vidhukha's record in the 2nd lower storey inscription raises a doubt on the subject, unless we belive one of the rooms to have been made by the prince and the others by the saint. Anyhow the name of the group of caves, according to the inscriptions, should be either Kaliṅgarāja Gumphā, 'Caves of the king of Kaliṅga', or Vidikha Gumphā, 'Prince Vidukh's cave', or Kadepa Gumphā, 'Kadepa's cave', and not Vaikuṇṭhapura, 'the abode of Viṣṇu', nor Pātālapura 'nether region cave', as they are now severally called.

Hathi Gumpha :—To the north-west, and a few feet above the level of the top of the Vaikuṇṭhapura Gumphā, there is a large cave of irregular shape, which bears the name of Hāthi Gumphā or 'Elephant cave'. It appears like a natural cavern extended by art, but without any order or plan. The forms of the plinths, seats and pillars, as also the chisel-marks on the sides, walls and roof, leave no doubt as to the extension being due to art, but the entrance is so irregular, that it may well pass for a natural cave.[17] Two rough-hewn blocks along the middle divide the area of the cave longitudinally into two ranges, and three compartments behind, the front being left to form a verandah of one opening with a very irregular outline. There is no demarcation between the side walls, and the roof, and the appearance everywhere is that of natural cave. A portion of the northern end has the floor raised about two feet from the level of the rest of the ground. On the two sides of the entrance which faces the south-west, there are two small caves carefully cut in the shape of cubes of 4 feet a side, with a doorway scarcely large enough to admit a small sized man crawling in. In no part of the large cave is there anything like architectural ornament or artistic finish, and the cave would have deserved no notice, but for a magnificent inscription in the most ancient *Lāṭ* character, incised on the scarped rock over its entrance. The inscription is fourteen feet long and six feet broad, and comprises seventeen lines, each letter being about two inches in length. Owing to its exposed position facing the south-west, and the fragile charaeter of the stone in which it is cut, the record has suffered serious injury in several places ; but enough still remains to show that it is perhaps the [17] oldest Indian engraved document that has come down to us. Mr. Sterling first drew the attention of Anglo-Oriental antiquarians to it in his elaborate and interesting essay on Orissa, and pointed out the relation it bore to the character of the Firūz and other Lāṭs of Northern India. But the facsimile he published was so very defective that nothing could be made of it. In 1837, Lieutenant M. Kittoe visited the place on three several occasions, and prepared a facsimile, of which a reduced copy, with transcript and a translation, was published by James Prinsep in the sixth volume of his *Jonrnal.* (Plate LVIII). According to Prinsep, "Nothing short of an impression, (and from the nature of the rock, an impression was impossible), could surpass in fidelity Mr. Kittoe's twice-compared facsimile", and on the whole the praise was well-deserved. But bearing in mind that the record covers an area of about eighty-four square feet, it is not to be wondered at, should the reading now offered to the public, which has been made out from a plaster cast prepared under the superintendence of Mr. H. H. Locke of the Government School of Art, prove to be in some respects different. The record has since Lieutenant Kittoe's time suffered extensive injury, and many letters, at times eight or ten in one place, which judging from his facsimile, were then perfectly clear, are now no longer legible. These in the subjoined reading I have copied from the old fascimile. Mr. Prinsep's translation was prepared under many disadvantages, and in concluding what he called his "hurried and imperfect, notice", Prinsep deemed it necessary to apologise for "offering it to the Society in so immature a shape".[18] I have, therefore, analysed below the first six lines of the text word by word, and ventured in my translation to make several changes and emendations which have materially altered the sense, and given quite a different turn to several salient points of the record. The last eleven lines are so sadly injured and so full of breaks that in none can an entire sentence be made out; I have not been able, therefore, to subject them to the same process of analysis, but have been obliged to content myself with copying Prinsep's version with only occasional obvious corrections.

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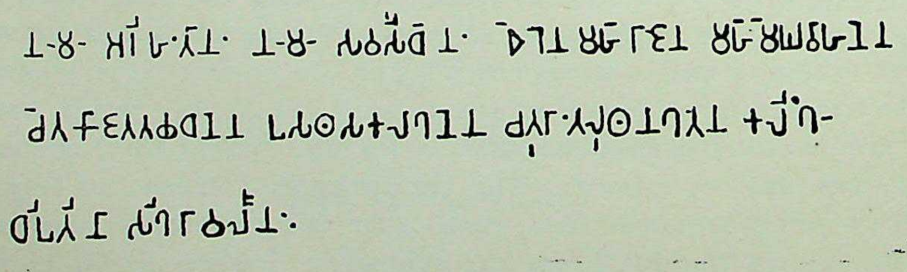
[17] Mr. Fergusson says, "It is an extensive natural cave, unimproved by art." *Tree and Serpent Worship*, 2nd Ed. p. 267.

The whole of the first line was perfect in Prinsep's time, but in my cast about twenty letters at the end have become very faint and in some places quite illegible ; supplying these dubtful and illegible letters from Prinsep's facsimile, I read it thus :—

Line 1.



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[18] *Journal As. Soc.*, VI., p. 1090.

Transliteration : *namo arihantānaṃ namo savasidhānaṃ/ereṇa mahārājena mahāmeghavāhanena cetakājatatachadhanena pasathasakalakṣanena caturāntalaṭhanakhatena kaliṅgādhipatinā sikharāvalonaṃ.*

This line comprises two sentences : the first, a salutation and the next the main object of the record. The former comprises four words, all in excellent preservation and of unmistakable import ; the words are : *namo arihantānam namo sava sidhānam.* The only doubtful letter is the *ri* of the second word. In Prinsep's facsimile it appears like *rā*, but he takes it in his transcript to be *ra* with a short vowel, but in the plaster cast the mark on the top of the *r*, though very faint, is like an *i*. In the former case, the word should be accepted as the dative plural, which in Pali is the same as the genitive plural of the Sanskrit *arhat*. The meaning of the first two words would be 'salutation' *(namo)* 'to the *arhats*,' or sages who have attained the rank of *arhats* ; or taking the plural to be simply honorific, "salutation to *the arhat*," or Buddha. If we accept the vowel-mark to be an *i*, the salutation may be directed to those who have destroyed or overcome *(hanti)* their enemies or carnal passions *(ari)*, or the enemy of mankind, which, is typified by Māra or lust. The last reading corresponds with the opening words of the Jain Gāyatrī or mystical *mantra*, which runs thus : *namo arihantānam, namo siddhānam, namo āyariyānam, namo uvahyānam, namo loe savva sāhunam*. This reading occurs in most of the *Āgamas* of the Jains, as also at the beginning of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, where Stevenson renders the word in question by the phrase "to the sages who have risen to be worthy of divine honours", meaning the *arhats*, and Prinsep accepts the same meaning. In Prākṛt the verb *arha*, 'to be worthy', becomes *ariha* (*arihadi* &c., being frequently met with in the Sanskrit-Prākṛt dramas), and by analogy the noun *arhat* may also become *arha*, and commentators on the Jain Māgadhi works always interpret it in that sense. But in Childer's *Pali Dictionary* the Sanskrit *arhat*, both by itself and in combination, invariably becomes *araha*, changing in the different cases to *arahā*, *araham*, *arahantam*, *arahata*, &c., in all which the compound consonant *rh* is disintegrated by the insertion of a shost *a* between its two phonetic elements. In the case of the Sanskrit *ārya* 'honourable', the compound *ry* is, however, disintegrated by the insertion of a short *i* between its two components, and the question therefore arises whether we should accept the word to be an irregular form of the Pali formed on the model of the Prākṛt, or a distinct word formed of *ari*, enemy, and *hantṛ*, destroyer ? The Pali being anterior to the Prākṛt, cannot accept the first branch of the alternative, except on the supposition that *ariha* is an irregular archaic form [18] which has survived in the Indian Prākṛts, though replaced by a regular derivative in Cingalese Pali. The second may be objected to on the ground of its not being a received interpretation, and opposed to the opinion of the commentators on the Jain Gāyatrī, which evidently is an elaboration of the salutation under notice. In Buddhist works, the carnal passions typified by Māra are the great enemies of mankind ; they are ever in the way to salvation, and frequently denounced as "*the* enemy", (*ari*) and those who have by the practic of self-control, penance, and devotion, overcome (*hāntā*) them are the noblest among men, and salutation to them, along with "spiritual instructors", *uvahyānam*, Sanskrit *upādhyāyebhyaḥ*, "those who regulate our religious service", *āyariyānam*, Sanskrit *āchāryebhyāḥ*, and "those who have become perfect", *sidhānam*, Sanskrit *siddhebhyaḥ*, would by no means be inappropriate. The greatest feat achieved by Sākya was his success over the allurements of Māra, whence his name Mārajit and none can be an *arhat* who has not completely overcome his passions, and the epithet, whether derived from *arha*, to be worthy, or *ariha* the destroyer of the enemy, would imply the *arhats*, and the result, therefore, in either case would be the same. The sense of the second clause is obvious enough. The words are *namo*, 'salutation', 'to all', *sava*, Sanskrit *sarva*, *sidhānam*, Sanskrit *siddhebhyaḥ*, 'perfected beings'. The whole sentence may accordingly be rendered thus : "salutation to those who have overcome all human passions, i. e., *arhats* ; salutation to all who have attained perfection."

The second sentence opens with a series of seven words in the instrumental case, or nominative in the causal form. The first of these *airena* is probably a proper name, Aira, derived from *ira* or *irā*. He was 'a great king', *mahārāja* ; who has 'a noble elephant', *mahāmegha*, or 'a great cloud', for his 'carries', *vāhana* ; who had 'lavished his wealth in erecting *chaityas*' ; the epithet being a compound of *cheta* for *chaitya*, *kāja* 'work', *tatchha*, for Sanskrit *tatstha*, 'devoted to', thence 'exhausted', 'weakened', 'spent', and *dhana* 'wealth' ; who 'is distingushed', *pasatha*, Sanskrit *praśasta*, by the 'attributes', *lakṣaṇa* 'of *saka*', or Śākya ; who was 'renowned', *khatena*, from the Sanskrit *khyāta* for 'despoiling', *luṭhana* 'to commit loot', all over the earth 'to its extreme four abutments', *chaturānta* ;[19] and who 'was the sovereign', *adhipati*, 'of Kaliṅga'. As to who Aria was, I shall notice further on. The second epithet calls for no remark. The third, if taken in the sense of a cloud, would apply to Indra but seeing that the personage named was a sovereign of Kaliṅga, and the kings of Kaliṅga and Orissa have always borne the title of *gajapati*, or 'lord of elephants', I prefer to take it in that sense. It may be the proper personal name, with *aira* for the race name, but I can say nothing in support of this idea. The fourth has been rendered by "rich in the possession of the purest wealth of heart and desire", in Prinsep's version, but how this meaning was got at, Prinsep does not explain, and I cannot make out. The words *cheta* and *kāja*, coming together, suggest the idea of building *chaityas* ; and I think it much more appropriate than Prinsep's rendering. The fifth in Prinsep's version is "of exceeding personal beauty". This meaning has been arrived at by taking the word *saka* to be equal to *sukra* or semen-virile, and that standing for the body ; but I have never seen the word *suka* used in the sense of the body ; the vowel-mark *u* is illegible in my cast ; Prinsep has doubtfully indicated it by a dotted line ; I prefer to take *suka* for Śākya, and believe the author meant to say that the prince bore the noble characteristics of Śākya, the founder of the Buddhist religion, and did not wish to praise his personal appearance. The word Saka may of course mean Scythian, but a Buddhist prince would scarcely feel proud of bearing the characteristic marks of a nameless foreigner. If we prefer the reading *suka* to *saka*, the word would mean Śukrācarya, the preceptor of the Asuras, who was renowned for his wisdom, and, as the Buddhist did not repudiate the celestial host of Hindus, the epithet would imply that the Prince had the characteristic wisdom of the divine sage Śukra. The sixth, in Prinsep's version, is "having an army of undaunted courage", but his reading is not correct, and his translation is necessarily wrong. To Europeans, raids and looting cannot but convey an offensive idea, but Indian writers invariably associate the idea of greatness with extensive conquest (*digvijaya*) and always assign it to their great kings as a mark of praise. The meaning of the seventh is clear enough, but Prinsep has transferred the case-mark to the next word, and thereby made the epithet *kaliṅgādhipa* stand by itself, unconnected grammatically with the word it qualifies. The two letters which form the mark are indistinct ; in my cast they may be read *tina* or *tera* ; I take them for the former for the sake of grammatical construction. Prinsep, reading them with the following letter, made out the word *tirāsi*, eighty-three. The letter *si* is clear enough, but it is not repeated to support Prinsep's reading of the subsequent word *sikhara*, of which the *kha* and *ra* are barely legible. I propose, therefore, to read the last two words *sikhara*, 'hill', in the object case, and the participle *avalonam*, 'excavated', from the Sanskrit *avaluna*, combined by synizesis into *sikharāvalonam*, meaning the hill was excavated by him, leaving the number of caves undefined. Prinsep's reading of *tirāsi sikharāvalonam* cannot mean eighty-three caves, but eighty-three hills, which would be inconsistent, as there are nothing near eighty-three hillocks in the neighbourhood. It is not to be supposed that the inscription refers to distant hills, even if we [19] could set aside the grammatical objection by assuming that the writer was not particular in that respect. The meaning of the sentence, according to my interpretation will be : "By Aira, the great king, who has a mighty elephant for his vehicle, who has lavished his wealth in erecting Chaityas, who is distingushed by the attributes of Sākya, who is renowned for having looted the earth to its outermost limits, who is the sovereign of Kaliṅga, has this hill been excavated."

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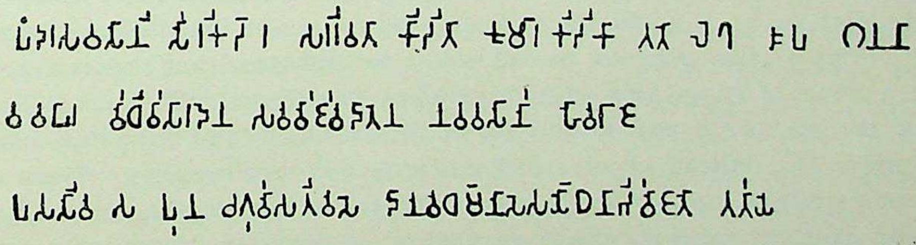
[19] Thus in the *Raghuvaṃśa : aparāntamahīpāla vyājena raghave karaṃ.*

Line 2.



Transliteration : *pandarasavasāni sirikaḍārasariravata kiḍitā kumārakiḍikā tato lekha-rūpa-gananā-vavapāra-vidhi-visāradena savavasāni hovaraja pasasiva sa puma catuvisativase dānavadhamenāsesa-yodhenābhivijayo tatiye.*

Having in the first line announced the main object of the inscription, namely, to record the fact of the hill having been excavated by Aira, the writer next proceeds to give a history of that person. This he commences in the second line. The letters in the line are, on the whole, well preserved, but the words they form appear disjointed, owing to the omission of casemarks and prepositions, and the construction is throughout involved. The sentence does not terminate until about the middle of the third line. "The first word of the sentence is *pandarasa-vasāni*, 'fifteen years'. In the objective case, it will mean 'for fifteen years' or 'all through fifteen years', for a rule in Sanskrit says that words implying time, place, or road in the objective may imply pervasion (*vyāpti*). The second word is *siri-kaḍāra-sariravati*, formed of *siri* for *śrī*, 'handsoms', *kaḍāra*, 'tawny', or 'red', i.e. beauteous, *sarira*, 'body', and *vatā* from *vat*, 'to possess with the mark of the singular instrumental case *ā* ; the meaning of the whole being "by him who possessed a handsome tawny body". The epithet *kaḍāra*, tawny, or red, may appear to Europeans as awkward, but seeing that in the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars, boys are generally described as "red" by way of praise, and the word *lāla*, "red" is a common term of endearment, forming the component of a whole host of proper names, and Bengali women invariably use the word *rāṅgā*, "red", when praising child, I do not think I have failed to take it in the sense in which the composer of the record has employed it. If I could accept it to be a corruption of *kandara*, 'a cave', I could render the phrase 'asylum of beauty' ; but according to Mr, Childer's *Pali Dictionary*, the Sanskrit *kandara*, becomes in Pali *kandaro* and not *kadaro*, and so it cannot be adopted. The next words are *kiḍitā*, 'having played', Sanskrit *kriḍita* ; *kumāra kiḍikā*, 'juvenile games', and these bring the first clause of the sentence to a close. The meaning of the clause will be "for fifteen years all juvenile games having been played by him who had a handsome red body".

The second clause is intended to terminate, like the first with a participle, but it is not given. Its first word is *tato*, 'afterward'. The next is, *lekha-rūpagananā-vavapāra-vidhi-visāradena*, 'by him who is experienced', (*visārada*) 'in writing' (*lekhā*) 'painting' (*rūpa*), 'arithmetic' (*gaṇanā*), 'civil polity' (*vavapāra*), and 'law' (*vidhi*). Prinsep renders the word *rūpa* into "reading", but I see no reason to adopt it, as it cannot be supported by any law of Sanskrit or Pali construction. It being very doubtful whether two and twenty centuries ago painting would form a part of ordinary education, it would perhaps be well to accept *rūpa* to be a qualifying term for *lekha*, the two together meaning 'forms of writing'. Prinsep takes *gaṇa* to be equivalent to 'arithmetic', but *gaṇa* is to count, and to make a noun of it an affix of some kind is wanted, and I effect this by joining the initial of the next word and reading the whole *gaṇanā*. The *nā* being thus removed we have *vavapāra* left, instead of *nāva* and *vapāra* as in Prinsep's reading. The word *nāva*, 'boat', can scarcely be used by itself to indicate navigation, but coupled with the next word *vapāra* for Sanskrit *vyāpāra*, 'affairs relating to', it would make an appropriate term. Navigation, however, as a subject of juvenile study was probably never preferred to civil polity, and I have therefore preferred the latter meaning. Prinsep renders *vapāra* into 'commerce'. The word *vidhi* as it stands may mean law in general, or especially the laws relating to the subjects named. I follow Prinsep in taking the word in a general sense. The third epithet is *savavijāvadatena*, 'by him who is proficient in all knowledge'. The letters are all clear, and the radicals do not suggest any alterative meaning. This is followed by the word *navavasāni*, 'nine years', which represent the period devoted to the acquirement of the different accomplishments mentioned, and to complete the sense a word is required here, which I believe was *ativāhitāni*, 'were passed'.

Prinsep reads the next clause *hovarāja-panasivasa*, and paraphrases it into "the former Rājā being then in his eighty-fifth year". The reading is dependent on two doubtful letters, whether the first two letters are *hova* or *hota*, and whether *panasi* is a corruption of the Sanskrit *pañcāsitī*, eighty-five? As regards the former, Prinsep, in the first part of his article,[20] writes *hota*, giving *bhuta* for its Sanskrit equivalent, but in the transcript given on page 1090, he has *hova*. In his facsimile the lower part of the 𑀯 (*v*) is angular, looking very like a defective 𑀢 (*t*). In my cast the lower part of the 𑀯 (*v*) is rounded, and I am forced, therefore, to accept the word to be *hova*. Now for its meaning. It is well known that the root *bhu* becomes *ho* in Pākṛt, and I have frequently met with it in the Gāthā dialect which was current long before the Prākṛt was formed.[21] According to the [20] quotations given in Mr. Childer's *Pali Dictionary* and D' Alwis' *Pali Grammar*, it would seem that both *bhu* and *ho* were used in Pali; sometimes the one and sometimes the other. Again, long before the Sanskrit *bhu* changed into *ho* in India, it had undergone a similar change in European languages; we accordingly have the Latin *habere*, the German *haben*, the Anglo-Saxon *halban*, the Gothic *haban*, the Dutch *hebben*, the Sweedish *hafva*, the Denish *have*, and the Spanish *haber*. I have no hesitation, therefore, in accepting the first part of the word to be the radical *bhu*. Now with the affix *kta* it becomes *bhuta*, 'that which was', or, as rendered by Prinsep, "former"; but in this past sense the former king should cease to be, and not be living in his eighty-fifth year. I prefer, therefore, to derive the word with the affix *i* (*bhāvi*) in a future sense, 'that which is to be'. *Bhāvi* should in Pali be *hobi*; in Bengali it is *habu*, and in Uriya *hobā*, and I am disposed to infer, therefore, that in the inscription the final *i* has been omitted as is too frequently the case in such records, or become illegible from age, or the proper form at the time was *hova*. In any case a futurity is implied, and taking, as I do, the *panasivasa* of Prinsep to be *pasasita*, a corruption of the Sanskrit *pratyāsita*, 'desiring', and *sa* 'he', the phrase would mean 'he desiring to become a king'. The word *puna*, 'thereupon', which follows is in perfect keeping with this. The next word *chatavisativase* may be read *chatuvisativase*. In either case it means 'in the twenty-fourth year', i. e., after fifteen years of play and nine of education, the person, on the twentyfourth year of his age, wishing to become a king, did what is next described. To gratify the desire for royalty, heroism is the first requirement, and this is indicated by the word *dānava-dhamen* 'with the characteristics' *(dharma)* 'of a giant', *(dānava)*. Prinsep renders the phrase into "full of wisdom and uprightness", but this interpretation cannot be given to it without an amount of torturing which is quite inadmissible. The next requirement is an army, and this is described by the epithet *asesa-yodhena*, 'with a numerous army',—*aśeṣa*, 'endless,' and *yodhā*, 'warrior'. The line here terminates with two words, of which the first is an adjective, *adhivijaya*, 'victorious', qualifying the pronoun *sa* 'he', and the second *titye*, 'third,' referring to the word *sanyuge* in the third line.

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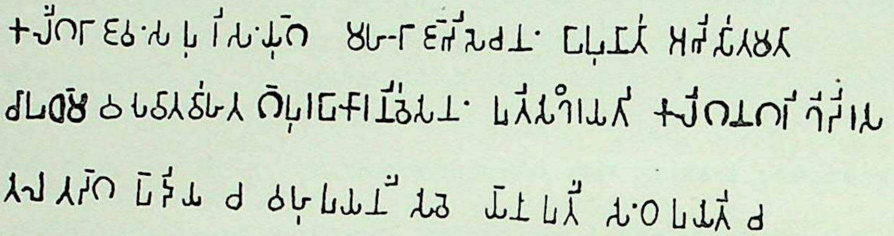
[20] *Journal, As. Soc.* VI, p. 1081.

[21] My paper on the Gāthā Dialect. *Journal, As. Soc.*, XXIII., p. 610.

Line 3.



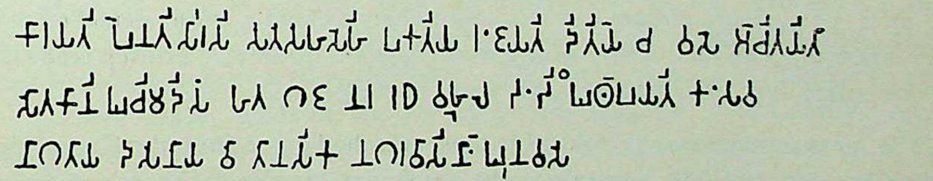
Translieration : *Kaliṅga rājavaṃsapurisaṃyuge mahārājābhisecanaṃ pāpu āti | abhisitamato cāpadame vasavātavihata gopura pākāra nivesanaṃ pati saṅkhārayati | kaliṅganagari khiḍirasa tala taḍāga pādiya ca bahupayani save yānapati santhāpayati ca !*

The third line opens with a long compound term of which the elements are—*kaliṅga*, 'the country so-called,' *rājavaṃsa*, 'royal dynasty,' *puri*, 'city', and *sanyugo*, 'in the battle'. Qualified by the last word of the second line which is in the same case with it the term would mean, 'in the third battle in the capital of the Kaliṅga royal dynasty'. This compound term is followed by another nearly as long, but of unmistakable import.—*mahārājābhisechanam*, 'royal anointment'. *māhārāja*, 'royal', and *abhisechanam*, 'anointment', or 'sanctification with holy water'. The term is in the objective case, and is followed by the active verb *pāpunāti*, Sanskrit *prāpnoti*, 'he obtains', which governs it. The pronoun *sa* is the nominative, and it can have only Aira of the first line for its antecedent. The meaning of the whole sentence according to this interpretation will stand thus : "Having devoted fifteen years to juvenile pastimes, and nine years to the acquisition of writing, painting, arithmetic, civil polity, and laws, he (Aira) wishing to be a king, with a giant's vigour and an endless army, becoming victorious in the third battle in the capital of the royal dynasty of Kaliṅga, receives royal unction."

Having thus been installed a king, what his first acts were are described in the next sentence. The words of the sentence are as follow : 1st, *Abhisita-mato*, 'he whose mind was devoted to or immersed in' ; Prinsep takes the word to meen, 'the anointed', or the person who got the royal unction. Following immediately after *abhisechana* of the preceding sentence, the word naturally suggests this inference ; but in Sanskrit *abhisikta* takes the affix *vat* and not *mat*, and in the singular nominative, the word would be *abhisiktavān*, in Pāli *abhisitavān*. I am therefore disposed to take it as a compound of *abhisikta* and *mati*, 'mind'. 2nd, *chāpadhame*, 'in the religion of the bow', i. e., in accordance with the duty imposed on kings or Kṣatriyas, Prinsep reads the word *vapadhamma*, and accordingly, taking *vapa* for *vipra*, 'a Brahman', infers that it has reference to the Brahmanical religion of the prince. The first letter, however, is clearly 𑀘 (*ch*) in his facsimile and also in my cast, and I prefer my reading both because it is in consonance with the text, and also with the sequel. 3rd, *vasavātavihata*, 'destroyed by rain and wind', Prinsep joins *vasa* with its preceding word, and takes it to mean "subject to", but the *mata* of the first word having already supplied that sense, it would be tautological to repeat it, 4th, *gopurapakara-nivesana*, 'gates, enclosing wall or fortification, and houses'. Prinsep reads the first letter *to* and joins it with the preceding word, but the compound so produced becomes unmeaning, and the letter, both in his facsimile and in my cast, is unmistakably *go*. 5th *patisankhārayati*, "causes to be repaired". The several words put together, produce this sentence : "Devoted to the duty of kings, he causes, the gates, walls, and houses (ofthe city ? or the palace ?) which had been destroyed by rain and wind to be repaired".

[21] The next sentence continues the enumeration of the good deeds of the king. Its words are : 1st, *kaliṅga-nagari*, 'in the city of Kaliṅga'. There is no case-mark to this compound, but Prinsep very reasonably assumes that it is in the dative case. 2nd, *khidira-sitala-taḍāga,—khidira*, 'the moon', *sitala*, 'cool', *taḍāya*, 'jheel' or 'long artificial lake'. 3rd, *pādiya cha,* 'and flights of steps', from the Sanskrit *pādiya*. Prinsep reads *khidira*, 'poor' ; but the epithet poor applied to a tank appears to me to be rhetorically offensive, and I have therefore preferred a different and more consistent version. If I could accept *khidi* to be the Prākṛt form of the Sanskrit *kṣhiti*,' 'earth' and *rasatala* to be the *rasātala* 'bottom of the earth' of the Hindu cosmogonists, the two words together would make a very appropriate epithet for *taḍāga,*—a very deep jheel, or one whose bottom reached the nether regions, but the reading *sitala* is against it. The conjunctive *cha*, which follows, couples the jheel with the flight of steps. 5th, *vathupayani*, 'every necessary', or *vahupayani*, 'many roads'. Prinsep prefers the former, but the second letter is very much worn out, and seems to me to be more like a *hu* than *tha*, and the meaning with the former letter is more in keeping with the centext. 5th, *savayāna*, 'all kinds of equipages'. 6th, *paṭisanthāpana*, 'consecration'. The last word of the line is *cha*, 'and' ; it joins the roads with the tank mentioned before. The verb of the sentence occurs in the next line.

Line 4.



Transliteration : *kārayati penatisirasi satasahasehi pakatiya rañjayati ditiye ca vase ācitayitā sotakāni pacimadisaṃ haya gaja nara radha bahulaḍaṇḍidiṃ pathāpayati kaṃsa-vanāgatāya dasanāya vā tānaṃsika nagaravāsino punavase.*

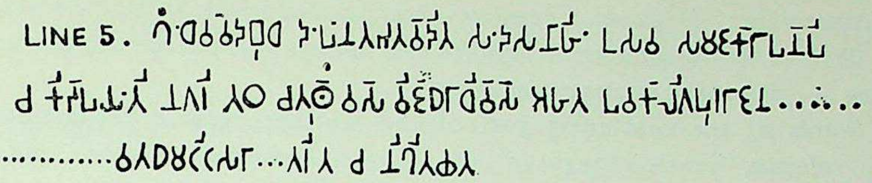
The first word of this line is *kārayati* 'causes to be made', being the verb referred to in the last preceding paragraph. Along with it the sentence would stand thus : "In the city of Kaliṅga he causes to be consecrated a lake with water refreshing as the moon (or a very deep jheel) and a ghat, and many roads for all kinds of equipages".

Continuing the enumeration of the prince's acts, the record next states that he, the prince, 'causes the gratification', *ranjayati*, 'of a hundred thousand', *satasahasehi*, 'of the people', *pakati* Sanskrit *prakṛti*, 'having their heads bowed down in salutation', *penati sirasi*. Prinsep reads the word *penatisirasi* as *panatisirāsihi* and renders it into "with *panas* eighty-three", a compound which would correspond neither with the laws of Sanskrit grammar nor with those of the Prākṛt ; the word is unmistakably an adjective qualifying *satasahasehi*.

The next sentence begins with the word *ditiye*, 'in the second', then follow *cha*, 'and', and *vase*, 'in the year', i. e., in the second year of the prince's reign. Prinsep reads the last word *vāse*, "in the house". The difference arises from the fact of the word *vasa* being susceptible of very different interpretation, according as we take it for the Sanskrit *vāsa*, 'a dwelling', or, *vasa*, 'led on by','enthralled', or *varṣa* 'a year'. Prinsep says, "I have interpreted it in the latter sense wherever I found a numerical accompaniment". This doubtless is the safest rule to adopt, but he seems not to have abided by it so strictly as he intended. I have done so more scrupulously, as I have found it to clear out much that would otherwise be very ambiguous. In the present sentence, as there is no mention made of a first house, the second becomes inconsistent ; whereas the first year's doings being fully described, the enumeration of those of the second year is quite natural. In subsequent parts we have the "next", "the fourth", "the fifth", "the seventh", "the thirteenth" years, following in regular succession. After the date come two words which Prinsep reads *āchitayitā sotakārim*, and renders them into "which the architect has prepared" ; but such an epithet cannot be made to correspond with 'the western side', where 'he causes to be placed' *paṭithāpayati*, Sanskrit *prasthāpayati*, *haya*, 'horses', *gaja*, 'elephants', *nara*, 'men', *radha*, Sanskrit *ratha*, 'war chariot', and *bahuladandin*, 'many staff bearers'. I take them to mean 'reflecting on his own interest', from the Sanskrit *āchintayitvā svotkāni* ; the second word is very clearly *sotakani*. The succeeding word is *pachimadisaṃ*, 'to the west side' ; Prinsep's reading of *dārin* for *dandin* is not supported by my cast. This enumeration shows clearly that the place on the western side was a fort, or a stronghold, or a pass, where danger was much apprehended, and a strong detachment of troops greatly needed. The first letter of the word *vahula* is doubful. Prinsep reads it *thahula* ; it may be *sahula*, i. e., 'having pikes', or 'pronged staffs'.

The next sentence says that 'for those who had come from the Kansa forest', *kansavanāgatāya*, 'to behold', *darsanāya*, the rejoicings, 'as also for those', *vā tatānam*, 'who were inhabitants of the city of Sika', *sikanagaravāsino*, 'by virtue of his great merit', *punavase*. The conclusion of the sentence occurs in the next line. The reading of the letters here given is not very certain : for *vā* I wish to read *cha*, and join *tāna* with *sika* to make the name of the town Tānasika. The last word admits of three different renderings ; it any mean 'influenced by his virtue', Sanskrit *punyavasatah* ; 'or in the next year', Sanskrit *punavarshe* 'or in a sacred place', Sanskrit *punyāvāshe* and any one of them would be appropriate. Prinsep accepts the first. The second appears to me to be very likely, coming as it does, after the "second year" of the [22] preceding sentence, and before "the fourth year" of a succeeding one ; but the third may be defended as pointing out the locality of the rejoicings which form the subject of the narration.

LINE 5.

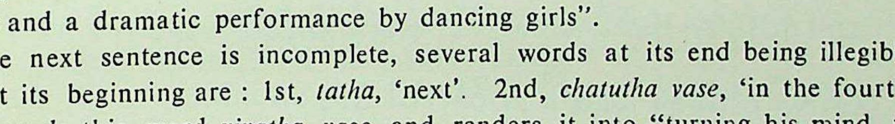


Transliteration : *gandhavavedabudha dampana tabhata vādita sandasanāhiṃ usava samajākarāpanāpi ca kīḍāpayanti nagaro tatha catuthe vase vijādharādhivāse ahatapuva-kāligapur rājana . . . vatadhamaṭiṭasarā . . . tarita ca nikhitachata|*

The words of the concluding part of the last sentence of the preceding line are all tolerably clear, and their meanings obvious. They are : 1st, *gandhava-veda-budha* 'men proficient' (*budha*) 'in the art' (*veda*, Sanskrit *vidyā*,) of music' (*gandhava*). 2nd *danpana-tabhata-vādita*, 'the musical instruments (*vādita*) named *dampana* and *tabhata*'. 3rd, *sandasanāhim*, 'worthy of being beheld', Sanskrit *sandarsanārha*. 4th, *usava*, Sanskrit *utsava*, 'entertainment'. 5th, *samajakārāpanāpī* 'recitation of dramatic compositions' ; both the last in the objective case joined by the conjunction. 6th, *cha*, 'and'. 7th, *kidāpayati*, 'causes to be played', Sanskrit *krīdayatī*. 8th, *nagarī*, 'dancing girls'. The meaning of the whole santence will accordingly be : "In the next year, for the gratification of those who had come from the Kansa forest, as also for that of the inhabitants of the city of Tānasıka, he causes to be celebrated an entertainment with the music of the *dampana*, *tabhata*, and other musical instruments, by persons proficient in the science of music and a dramatic performance by dancing girls".

The next sentence is incomplete, several words at its end being illegible. The words at its beginning are : 1st, *tatha*, 'next'. 2nd, *chatutha vase*, 'in the fourth year'. Prinsep reads this word *vivatha vase*, and renders it into "turning his mind to law", but the first two letters are not clear, and as far as I can make them out, they support my reading, which is also in keeping with the *ditiya-vase*, 'in the second year', and *puna-vase* "in the next year" of the preceding sentences. 3rd, *vijādharādi-vase*, 'in the house of the learned', Sanskrit *vīdyādharādi-vāse*. 4th, *ahata*, 'Arhats' or Buddhist saints. 5th, *purvakalingapura rājana*, 'kings of the city of eastern Kaliṅga', Here ten or twelve letters are lost, then follow probably the earlier words of a new sentence. 6th, *vata dhama ṭiṭa*, —*vata* for *vrata*, 'devotion', *dhama* for *dharma*, 'religion', *ṭiṭa* for *tita*, 'moistened', 'absorbd in acts of devotion'. 7th, *sarā*, followed by three illegible letters. 8th, *tāritacha*. 9th, *nikhita*, 'forsaken', 'given up', Sanskrit *nikṣipta*. 10th, *chhata*, 'umbrella', or more probably a corruption of *sata*, a hundred'.

LINE 6,

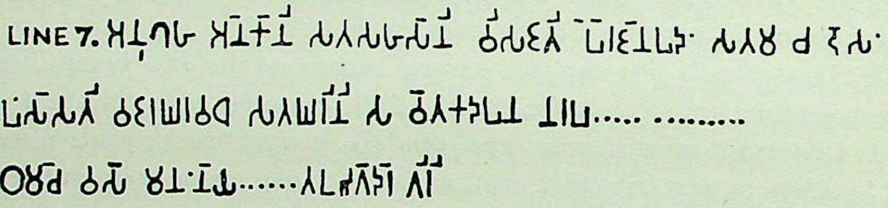


Transliteration : *bhigārehita ratanaṃ sāpateya savarathika bhajakepādevaṃ dapayati pacamaca dānivase nandarajanivasata ughāṭita tana taraḷiya vāja panāḍinagarapavesa rise . . . sabhāsari ca . . . pāsa ca sadasatesavakaravana* /

The words of the concluding part of the sentence begun in the last line, are, lst, *bhigārehita ratanam,* 'jewels brought in jars', Sanskrit *bhringārāhita-ratna.* 2nd, *sapateya,* 'inimical', Sanskrit *sāpatneya.* 3rd, *savarathika,* 'all charioteers', i. e., kings. 4th, *bhajakepā.* 5th, *devam,* 'to the gods'. 6th, *dāpayati* 'causes to be given'. The sentence, as far as made out would thus mean, "Impelled by devotion to acts of religion, he causes to be given to the gods the hundred jars full of jewels which inimical kings had given up to him".

The next sentence begins with a word, the third letter of which Prinsep conjectures it to be a *th.* I find it to be clearly an *m,* and read the word *pachama.* "fifth", Sanskrit *pañcama.* The 2nd word is *cha* 'and', 3rd *dāni,* 'now', Sanskrit *idāni.* 4th, *vase,* 'in the year', i. e., 'and now in the fifth year'. Prinsep renders the phrase : "Afterward inclining to charity", but as *dāni* cannot be the Pāli form of the Sanskrit *dāna,* it is not satisfactory.

The next word is *nandarāja,* 'king Nanda' ; next, *nivāsata,* 'from his home', Sanskrit *nivasāt* ; then *ughāṭita,* 'having expelled', Sanskrit, *udghāṭita* ; then *tana,* for *tena,* 'by him'. Then follow the words *taraliya,* 'quick moving', *vāja* for *vājī,* 'horse', *Punāḍi,* a proper name, *nagara,* 'a city', and *pavesa,* 'to enter' ; the rest is lost. The sentence as far as legible may be rendered thus : "And now in the fifth year, king Nanda having been, by him, expelled from home, went away on a swift horse to the city of Punāḍi".

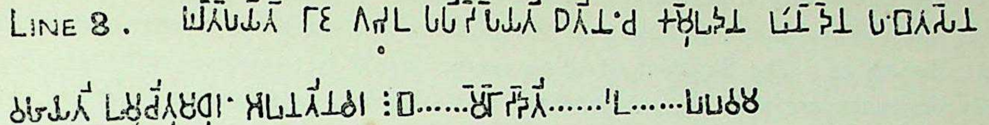


Translitreation : *anugaha anekāni satasahasāni visajati porajānapadaṃ satama ca ḍasaṃ pasāsati vajaragharavadha satagharini sa vetaka dapana narapa . . . . thame ca vase manam nāya . . . ta ubha . . . gedare giri* /

From this line forward the original is so full of breaks, erosions, and obliterations, that it is impossible to subject the words to any critical examination. I shall, therefore, without in any way subscribing to its accuracy, content myself with [23] copying Prinsep's version *verbatim,* without reference to my cast, which in the latter part is very imperfect, adding only a few occasional notes where circumstances render them necessary.

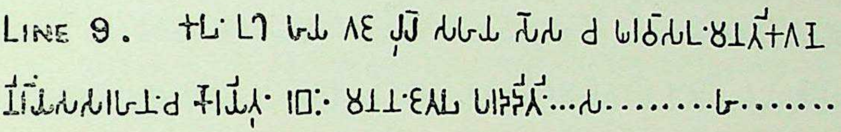
"*anugaha anekāni satasahasāni visajati* ; 'he munificently distributes in charity many hundred thousands (*panas*),—*porajānapadam satamanchatisam pasāsato vajaragharavedham satam gharini savata kaha dapanna narapa.* Here the senes is too much interrupted to be well made out, and the want of the concluding verb leaves us to guess the object of the repetition of *satam,* a hundred, with *paurajanapadam,* the town, territory, and *ghara,* house. At the conclusion of the this line we find a few known words . . . . *thamevase manam* . . . . *ta . . . ge . . . giri . . .* 'hill'. I take *thama cha vase,* for *sathama cha vase* the seventh year.

LINE 8.



"The eighth line is again but partially intelligible :—*ghātāpayiti rājā gabham upapiḍapayati : dhatinam cha kamupadāna panādena pambatasena vāhayati* : *pammuchitamadhuram apanata .. mora dadāti* :'(To) the prince who caused (its) destruction, he ordains the pain of the cavern (imprisons in one of the caves ?) and causes the murderer to labour (*dhātinam* for *ghātinam)* by a generous requital. (*Pambātasea*, the pandit would read *parbatāsanam*, 'seated on the hill') and lavishes bland speeches and obeisance.—"

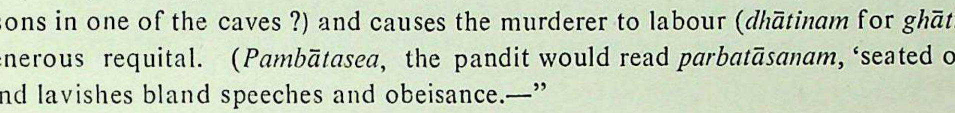
LINE 9.



"The ninth line opens with a catalogue of further gifts :—*kapam ukha haya gaja lulapa* ?) *sahāya sesa cha gharavāsāya, manatikagana nirāsasahanancha kārayitun, baimanānam jatapa* (*jātiya* ?) *paradadāti* :

"Apes (*kapi*), bulls (*ukhā),* horses, elephants, buffaloes (?) and all requisites for the furniture of the house ; to induce the practice of rejecting (*nirāsa*) improper persons, he futher bestowed (or appointed) attendants of the baiman caste (brahman ?) : *brāhmaṇānaṃ jātīya paridadāti* ; the rest of the line is irrecoverable."

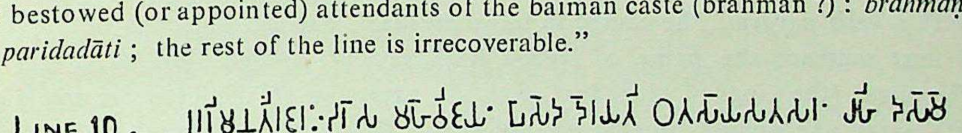
LINE 10.



Transliteration : *rararima nati rajara iḍa rāsa mahāvijayaṃ pāsādadārayati thatasāya satasaraṃ lahi dasāme ca sa ḍakaḍāta . . . raragavasapa . . . rarāvayavi . . . ḍapaünatanaca mare tanāṇā napa pi* /

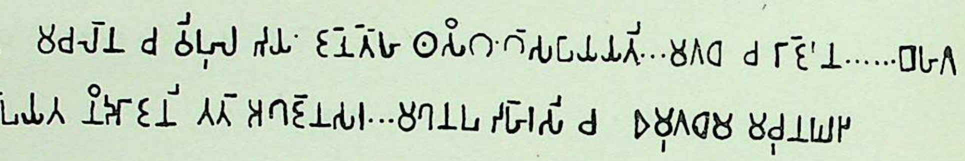
"Henceforward the commencement also is lost, so that it is only in our power to string together such detached sentences as can be gleaned from what remains. *Mānatiraja pandarasa mahāvijaya pāsādam kārayati* . . . . '*rājā* causes to be made the palace (or fort) of fifteen victories".

LINE 11.



"*puva rāja nivesātam pithu-dāga-dambha-nagare nakāsayatta janapade, bhāvanā cha teresavase sataka* :—'finding no glory in the country which had been the seat of the ancient princes,—a city abounding in envy and hypocrisy,—and reflecting in the year thirteen hundred'—a break follows and leaves us in the dark as to what era (if any) is here alluded to. The Sanskrit of this passage would be :—*apūrva rājanivesanaṃ* (?) *pṛthunāgadammanagare nakāsāyatvā janapada bhāvanaśca trayodaśavarṣa śatake.*— After this occurs, the expression *amaradehasa pata* 'falling of heavenly form'—used to denote the death of a person,—then *barasa*', 'twelve,' and the end of the line, *siri pithirajano*, which in Sanskrit will be :—*śrīpṛthvī rājānaḥ* (*rājā*). [The line is so corrupt that I cannot venture to suggest amendments ; but the interpretation given above appears to me to be very unsatisfactory. The *trayadasa vase*, I feel certain, refers to the thirteenth year of the reign, the word *sataka* which follows being a part of the matter which is lost.]

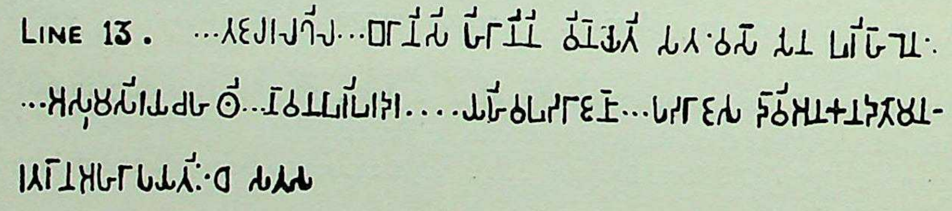
LINE 12.



Transliteration : *macalāna ca vipulabhayaṃ janetoha thasaṅgaṃ gāsapāyayati - bhagadha ca rājāna—bahagasāsita pādevādāpayata nandarājani tato agajānasara .... makhanapaṇḍa—hārasi ca .... e mugadhama macunaghari* |

[24] Prinsep has not noticed this line, and there are only a few words which can be identified in it with anything approaching to certainty. The first legible part ends with a verb *payayati*, 'he caused to be established', but the object is not apparent. In the next sentence the name of Nanda Rājā is clear enough, and so is the word *magadha rājani*, 'the kings of Magadha', with the exception of the letters *m* and *g* which are very faint and almost illegible in my cast. The purport seems to be that the country of Magadha was well governed, (*vahaga sāsita*,) after the expulsion of Nanda Rājā ; but this is the merest conjecture.

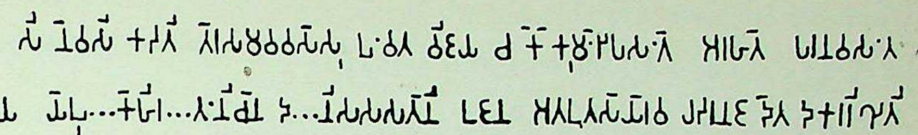
LINE 13.



Transliteration : *tajalaralakhila - barānisi hira nini vineyati sātavasā sa na pariharenaṃ asumasirayaca hathi .... novanaparipara dara - yahi vapaḍarājano .... paḍarājasa davianakanadato manorata rānaaharāpayati idhasatasa* |

"*Ta jaloralakhila bāranasi hiranonivenayti* apparently, he distributes much gold at Benares (Sanskrit : *vārānasam hiranyāni visirjati*)—all that follows is too uncertain until we approach the verb,—*anekani dato* (*deva* ?) *maniratanāni aharapayati* 'he gives as charity innumerable and most precious jewels'."

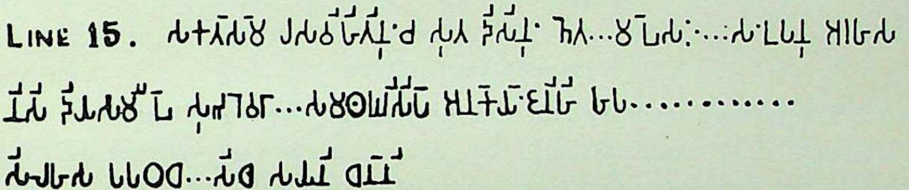
LINE 14.



Transliteration: *sinevasi kaḍati terasamavavasesu paṃvata vijaya cako kumāro pasaṅge arahate paranavasanta piṅka mani sidināya yepu—kehira taṃni cenaṃ da—nisa sasatāni ujana ata utasāyārava laḍaranaja deta ... dakararikhiti ...*

14th Line,—"*sinevasi kariti terasa mava* (*sata?*) *vasesu pancala* (*pabata?*) *vijaya chakoa kumaripasange, arahata paranavasanta pi kamani sidināya yapuravake ......* 'in the year thirteen hundred married (Sanskrit: *prasaṅga*) with the daughter of the so-called conqueror of the mountains (a hill *rāja*)—' the rest is obscure but seemingly declaratory of some presents to priests." Here as in a preceding line the year is probably the thirteenth of the reign and not thirteen hundred: the word *arahata*, Arhat, also occurs here.

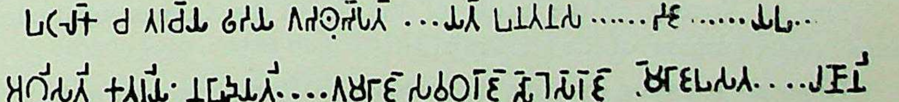
LINE 15.



Transliteration: *sakatāsame lasavihitinuṃ ca sutadisinuṃ ñata ... mape saī ... saṃupanu arahasa nisidiyasamīpe subharevarā—samatha ghisipa anakeyāṃ janihi hapa ... silahasa papatha dha ... sidhasayani ... dhanāni* /

15th Line.—"This line presents but a few words of intelligible import—*vihitānanca sata disānam ... sidiya samipe subhare aneke ya janā*, and the final word *dhanāni*." The word Arhat in the possessive case is also clear.

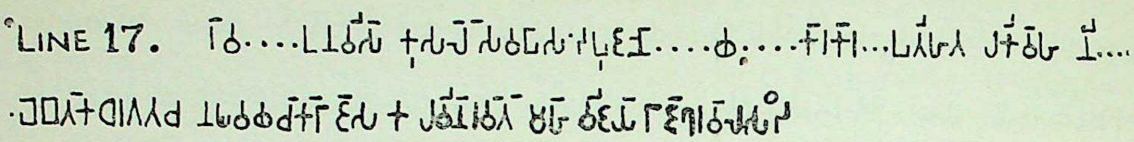
LINE 16.



Transliteration: *paṭalake ca taraceya ghaḍaya gabhathaṃ bhepati—yati panatanasa ... ḍa ja ... paya—cchino caceyatha agisati katariyaṃ napādayati—gamurājā savatharājā soreserājā ... merājapasata ... lanoni* /

16th Line.—"*Patalake catara ceteghariya gabha thambhe pati* (*tha*) *payati*, he causes to be constructed sub-terranean chambers, caves containing a chetiya temple and pillars ... *agisati katariyam napada chati —agama rājāsavatha rājā saurase* (*na*) *raja ..... ma raja pasata saghata ... lanoni*."

LINE 17.



Transliteration : *rāva una vise kusalo savapasaṇḍapūjano . . . cha . . . kārakāra . . . patihatalakivāhani vāvatākadharagata ca naghavachacakorājāsa kalavināravato mahā vijayorājā kheravelasaṇḍa* /

"The last line begins well : (omitting *u vi se*) *kusalo sava pāsaṇḍa pujan* (*iya*) (17 letters) *kārakāra . . . patihata lakivāhani vālevākadhagata cana pavata cako rājasanko lavināravato mahāvijaye rājā khāravelasanda,*—for whom the happy heretics continually pray—slayer, having a lakh af equipages . . . the fearless sovereign of many hills by the sun (cherished ? or some such epithet) the great conqueror rājā Khāravela sandā (or the king of the ocean-shore,—reading *khāravelasya,* and supposing the final strokes not to be letters."

[25] For the convenience of reference I shall here put Prinsep's and my translations :

Prinsep's Translation.

Line 1. Salutation (or glory) to the Arhantas, glory to all saints : (or those who have attained final emancipation). By Aira, the great king,—borne on his mighty cloud chariot,—rich in possession of the purest wealth of heart and desire,—of exceeding personal beauty,—having an army of undaunted courage—by him (was made) the excavation of the eighty-three rocky peaks of *Kaliṅga dwipa.*

Line 2. (By him) possessed of a comely form at the age of fifteen years,— then joining in youthful sports,— afterwards for nine years engaged in mastering the arts of reading and writing, arithmetic, navigation, commerce and law ;— and resplendent in all knowledge ;— (the former rājā being then in his eighty-fifth year) thus at the age of twentyfour, full of wisdom and uprightness and on the verge of manhood, (lit. the remainder of youth) (through him) does a third—

Line 3. Victory, in the battle of the city of the Kaliṅga royal family, sanctify the accession (anointment) of the Mahārājā,.

Upon his accession choosing the Brahmanical faith, he causes to be repaired the city, walls, and houses, (that had been) destroyed by a storm. For the poor (or ascetics) of Kaliṅga a reservoir of cool water and a *ghāt* (?) also presents of every necessary and equipages he makes permanent endowment of.

Line 4. With eighty-three hundred thousand *panas,* he gains the affection of his people. And in a second house (which) the architect has prepared on the western side, (for) horses, elephants, men, carriages, a number of chambers he caused to be established. For those coming from the Kansa forest to see ; the balcony—of the inhabitants of Sākanagara ; he, inclining to virtue.

Line 5. Skilled in the science of music, causing to be sounded the *dampana* and the *tabhata* (drums ?) with beautiful and merry dancing girls, causes diversions. In like manner turning his mind to law, in an establishment of learned men, he (called together ?) the Buddhist priests of eastern Kaliṅga who were settled there under the ancient Kings—

Line 6. Jewel—all equipages—he gives to god. Afterwards inclining to charity—the hundred houses (?) of Nanda rājā destoryed, and himself expelled, all that was in the city [26] of Vajapanādi (?) he converted the plunder to the charitable purposes alluded to.

Line 7. He munificently distributed in charity may hundred thousand panas—

Line 8. (To) the princes who caused (its) destruction, he ordains the pain of the cavern (imprisons in one of the caves ?) and causes the murderer to labour by a generous requital. Seated on the hill—and lavishes bland speeches and obeisance.

Line 9. Apes, bulls, horses, elephants, buffaloes (?) and all requisites for the furniture of the house;—to induce the practice of rejecting improper persons, he further bestowed (or appointed) attendants of the Beiman caste (Brahman ?).

Line 10. Rājā causes to be made the palace (or fort) of fifteen victories.

Line 11. Finding no glory in the country which had been the seat of the ancient princes,—a city abounding in envy, and hypocrisy, and reflecting in the year thirteen hundred. Falling of heavenly form,—twelve.

Line 12. Not translated.

Line 13. He distributes much gold at Benares,—he gives as charity innumerable and most precious jewels.

Line 14. In the year thirteen hundred married with the daughter of the so-called conqueror of the mountains (hill Rājā)

Line 15. Not translated.

Line 16. He causes to be constructed subterranean chambers, caves containing a chetiya temple and pillars.

Line 17. For whom the happy heretics continually pray—slayer, having a lakh of equipages—the fearless sovereign of many hills, by the sun (cherished ? or some such epithet) the great conqueror Rājā Khāravelasunda (or the king of the ocean-shore).

Proposed Translation.

Line 1. Salutation to those who have overcome all human passions, i. e., Arhats salutation to all who have attained perfection.

By Aira, the great king, who has a mighty elephant for his vehicle, who has lavished his wealth in erecting Chaityas, who is distinguished by the attributes of Śākya, who is renowned for having looted the earth to its outermost limits, who is the sovereign of Kaliṅga, has this hill been excavated.

Line 2. Having devoted fifteen years to juvenile pastimes, and nine years to the acquisition of (different) forms of writing, arithmetic, civil polity, and laws, he, (Aira), wishing to be a king, with a giant's vigour and an endless army, becoming victorious in the third—

Line 3. battle in the capital of the royal dynasty of Kaliṅga, receives royal unction.

Dovoted to the duty of kings, he causes the gates, walls and house (of the city ? or the palace ?) which had been destroyed by rain and wind to be repaired.

In the city of Kaliṅga, a lake (with water) refreshing as the moon beams and a ghat, and may roads for all kinds of equipages, he causes to be

Line 4. consecrated. He causes the gratification of hundreds of thousands of his subjects whose heads are bent down in salutation.

In the second year (of his reign) reflecting on his interest, he causes to be placed on the west side, (strong detachments of) horses, elephants, men, war-chariots, and pike-bearers.

For (the gratification of) those who had come from the Kaṅsa forest to behold (the rejoicings), as also for that of the inhabitants of the town of Tānasika, on the following year,

Line 5. he causes to be celebrated an entertainment with the music of the *dampana tabhata* and other musical instruments, by persons proficient in the science of music, and a dramatic performance by dancing girls.

Next, in the fourth year, in the house of the learned (he calls together ?) the Arhats who had been established by the kings of the city of Eastern Kaliṅga. Impelled by devotion to acts of religion the forsaken umbrellas,—a hundred.

Line 6. urns full of jewels, which inimical kings had given up to him, he causes to be offered (to the gods ?).

Now in the fifth year, king Nanda having been, by him, [**26**] expelled from home, went away on a swift horse to the city of Punādi—

Line 7. He munificently distributes in charity many hundred thousand (panas) —a hundred—town, territory—governs well—in the eighth year—his mind—hill—

Line 8. (To) the prince who caused (its) destruction he ordains the pain of the cavern (imprisons in one of the caves ?), and causes the murderer to labour by a generous requital.—Seated on the hill—lavishes bland speeches and (receives ?) obeisance—

Line 9. Apes, bulls, horses, elephants, buffaloes and all requisites for the furniture of the house ;—to induce the practice of rejecting improper persons, he further bestows (or appoints) attendants of the *baiman* caste (Brāhmaṇa ?)—

Line 10. The highly renowned king causes to be made the palace of fifteen victories—

Line 11. Finding no glory in the capital which had been the seat of the ancient kings, a city abounding in envy and hypocrisy, and reflecting in the thirteenth years, the fall of heavenly forms—twelve.

Line 12. For the profuse profit of crowded congregations, he established—Magadha kings—well governed—since Nanda rājā's—

Line 13. He distributes much gold at Benares—he gives in charity innumerable and most precious jewels—

Line 14. In the thirteenth year—married the daughter of the so-called conqueror of the mountains (a hill rājā).— Impelled by virtue to Arhats—

Line 15. By him on a hundred sides—before perfected beings, and crowds of people —wealth—

Line 16. He causes to be constructed subterranean chambers, caves, containing Chaitya temple and pillars—for congregations—kings of Ayama—kings of Surasena—caves.

Line 17. For whom the happy heretics continually pray—slayer, having a lakh of equipages—the fearless sovereign of many hills by the sun (cherished)—the great conqueror of the ocean shore—

"All who take an interest in Indian antiquities," says Prinsep, "will at once see the value of the above record, perhaps the most curious that has yet been disclosed to us, and will lament the irretrievable obscurity in which the dilapidation of ages has involved the greater part of its contents."[22] As far as its contents can be made out, it affords a most interesting account of an ancient Indian prince, who, rising from the body of the people, took possession of a large kingdom, and reigned with great success for a long period. That he was a usurper is perfectly clear from the fact of no mention having been made of his ancestors in a record put up ostensibly for his glorification. He wages war because he wishes to be a king ; he wrests the kingdom from the royal dynasty of Kaliṅga, says his panegyrist ; he repairs the palace, strengthens the fortifications, [**27**] places detachments of troops in those places where danger is most apprehended ; he distributes largesses, digs tanks, entertains the people with public exhibitions of dancing and music, and wins the good will of the most influential section of the community, the priesthood, by attending to their comforts ;—doing in all these just what a usurper would do to strengthen his position amidst a community whose allegiance he could not secure by the prestige and hallow of a long line of royal ancestry. It is true that the record does not in so many words say that he was a usurper, but this could not reasonably be expected from his encomiast. Prinsep thinks that he "wrested the Government from some usurper," but the inscription does not afford any reason to support this inference. Had that been the case, the writer of the record, instead of saying in ambiguous terms that he acquired the kingdom "in the third battle in the capital of the Kaliṅga royal dynasty," would have clearly pointed out the character of the person who was overthrown ; nor would he have been so reticent about the parentage of his hero in a document in which he thinks it important that the juvenile pastimes and early elementary education of the youth should be recorded.

Prinsep takes the name of the person to whose honour and glory the inscription was recorded to be Aira, and the manner in which the name is introduced fully justifies the assumption. It is possible, however, that the word Mahāmeghavāhana, which follows the title Mahārājā, was the proper personal name, and the first word was an epithet—probably the race-name. In the present state of the record this doubt, however, cannot be satisfactorily solved, and for the sake of convenience it is well that the first word, which does not readily afford a good meaning as an epithet, should be accepted as the proper name. Neither the name Aira nor Meghavāhana occurs in the temple records of Orissa, nor in any of the genealogical tables ; and this fact can be best accounted for on the supposition of the person who bore it having been a usurper.

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[22] *Journal, As. Soc.*, VI., p. 1088.

Believing Aira to be a usurper, it is not necessary for me to enter into any discussion regarding his supposed relationship with Irā, Ilā, or the moon, about which Prinsep has written a most interesting note, and a part of which I quote below for convenience of reference.[23]

[28] The only question of importance which concerns the historian is the date of Aira. This the record does not supply. There is, however, enough in it to enable us to make an approximate guess as to the time when Aira lived. The ancient Pāli character in which the inscription is inscribed was current down to the 2nd century before Christ. No authentic record has been met with of a later date, and this fact affords us a *terminus a quo* to start with. Now we know not for certain how long before that time the character in question was current. Prinsep in his plate of ancient Indian characters, calls Pāli the character of the 5th century B.C. Whether we accept this conjecture or not, we cannot take Aira to be older than the first century after Buddha, for the Jaina or Buddhist salutation at the beginning of his record, and the reference to the Arhats in a subsequent part of it, unquestionably put a limit to his antiquity. Taking this as the *terminus ad quem* we must look for his date between the second and the fifth century before Christ. So far the inference is,

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[23] After discussing with which of the Orissan potentates Aira can be identified, Prinsep says :

"But there is another explanations of the first line, which seems more consistent with the epithet Mahāmeghavāhana, 'the great rider upon the clouds,'—a term hardly applicable to a terrestrial monarch. It will be remarked that the termination *lunam*, 'excavated,' is indefinite as to time, and far different from the conclusion of every subsequent sentence in a causal verb of the present tense, as, *kārayati*, 'he causes to be done.' This first line then may be independent of the rest, and may be similar to the announcements upon the other caves, also terminating in *lunam* ; or in other words, it may declare the name of the cave as, 'the cave of Aira.' Now Stirling tells us that Indra's wife was the last to inhabit these caves, but that they date from an age much anterior—the time of Buddha ;—that is, not of Śākya, but of Buddha the progenitor of the lunar race according to Pauranic mythology ;—in common parlance from 'time out of mind.'

"Again Wilson, in his analysis of the Mackenzie manuscripts (vol. I, p. cv.) remarking that they present no satisfactory materials for tracing the ancient history of the countries north of the Krishna, cites among the few traditions recorded, that 'the excavations at Ellora are ascribed to ILA, the son of BUDDHA, the son of the moon'. The rājās who ruled subsequently at Ellora are said to be YUVANĀSVA, DANDAKA, INDRADYUMNA, DARUDHYA, and RĀMA rāja. — (Of these INDRADYUMNA, it may be remarked, *en passant*, is the traditionary founder of the temple of Jagannāth).

"The ILA above mentioned is properly speaking not the son but the wife of BUDDHA,—in other words ILĀ or IRĀ, the goddess of the earth, or water from whom was born AILAS or PURURAVAS, progenitor of the two principal branches of the CHANDRAVAMŚA who reigned at Kāsi and Pratiṣthāna.

"The essays of Wilford contain frequent mention of Ila and Ilā, (for this personage is both masculine and feminine), whom he identifies with JAPHET as *Ilapati* or Jyapati ; and again with *Ilys*

I believe, unquestionable. For the next step we have an only guide, and that not the safest. Generally speaking identity of names is no proof of the identity of persons; but when some corroborative evidence is available in support of such identity it may, I think, be to a certain extent relied upon as probable; and in the present instance we have both identity of names and some corroborative evidence to deal with, though the latter is by no means so harmonious as to leave no room for doubt. Among the princes whom Aira overcame by his prowess occurs the name of Nandarājā, and this, it may fairly be presumed, refers either to Sunanda, son and successor of Kāsi, and grandson of Brahmadatta, king of Kaliṅga, who at the death of Śākya received a relic of the saint; or to one of the nine Nandas of Magadha. In the former case, Aira must have lived about fifty years after the death of Budhha, or in the fifth century B.C. This is, however, not probable, as there is no reason why the name of Sunanda should be written Nanda in a prose composition. The name of Magadha in connexion with Nanda in a later part of the record is also against it, and the second branch of the alternative is therefore what I am disposed to adopt.

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of the Orphean theogony, *Gilshāh* of the Persians, and *Ilus* of Homer, (*Asiatic Researches*, VIII, 255). He has, however, omitted what appears to me a much more rational analogy both philological and mythological; namely, that between the Hindu goddess IRĀ and the JUNO of the Greeks, 'H*pa*' or Hera, (Keightley derives H*pa*, from *hera*, the Latin for 'mistress !' Others deduce it from *aer* the air and *eras* to love, both equally unsatisfactory). The name is not only identical, but to both, though not precisely in the same manner, is applied, in western and eastern fable, the decision of the question which could not otherwise be solved of the comparative pleasure to male and female in the conjugal union. Again, the son of Zeus and Hera is Ares, or MARS; a name for which, Keightley asserts, no satisfactory derivation has yet been given. Now this word is almost identical with *Airas* or *Ailas* (the daughters of Juno are by Homer entitled the Eileithyiœ in which *r* is changed to *l* ?) the direct patronymic of IRĀ or ILĀ, and the name constantly employed in the Purāṇas to designate PURURAVAS, the celebrated lover of the heavenly nymph URVAŚĪ, whose tale is told in the *Viṣṇu* and *Padma* Purāṇas. and more pathetically in Kālidāsa's play of *Vikramorvaśī* lately translated by Professor Wilson.

"PURARAVAS or AILAS was the first monarch of the seven-fold earth, and hence might be as well entitled to be called king of Kaliṅga as of every other country. We may therefore understand in the opening passage of the inscription,—'these mountain caverns were excavated by AILAS, the great king, the cloud-supported, the lord of Kaliṅga,'—no more than an allusion to the same tradition of the origin of these caves as that which prevails at Ellore, coupled with the other local tradition, related by Stirling, that the whole of the rocky hills of Udaya and Khaṇḍagiri, were conveyed thither from the peaks of the Himalaya, the headquarters of PURARAVAS' earthly dominion, so well pictured in the poetic fiction of his cloud-borne chariot.

"Stripped of its mythological and poetical dress, we may understand by the passage that the caves were natural chasms worn in the mountains by the action of the winds and the waves; for *irā*signifies 'water' the ocean;" as *airāvata*, or *airāvana*, 'the ocean-born', is the elephant of Indra, the god of the heavens, the atmosphere, whose name is still preserved in the sculptures at Ellora.

"Should this interpretation of the first line be admitted, though we shall be disappointed in finding the true mundane origin of these singular monuments, we shall nevertheless have abundant reason to admire the antiquity of the Indian mythos, when we thus find in a monument undoubtedly prior by some centuries to the Christian era the selfsame story which is now repeated by the faqirs, who shew visitors over the similar stupendous relics of ancient grandeur on the west of India. In this point of view above the

It is much to be regretted that the line in which *Magadha-rājani* and Nanda Rājās are named in close proximity is so corrupt that a complete translation cannot be affored of it. Prinsep's facsimile also gives only the letter *dh* of Magadha, and the two first letters are so exceedingly faint in my cast, that they are all but perfectly illegible; but relying on them I am disposed to accept that the person indicated is one of the nine Nandas of Magadha. There can be no a *priori* objection to this identification. There is ample evidence to show that Kaliṅga was well-known from the time of the death of Śākya, and the Pāli Buddhistical annals prove that it bore close political relationship with Magadha, from one of whose sovereigns it obtained the tooth relic at a very early period. It is impossible now to say whether the boundary of the Kaliṅga rāj was conterminous with that of Magadha, but if the two kingdoms did not border upon each other, they were separated by a very narrow interval, and there is nothing improbable in the supposition of their having been politically related, or having indulged in border warfare. The inscription states that Aira went to Banares, and distributed largesses there very bountifully, and in his way he most probably passed through Magadha. Accepting under these circumstances, that the Nandarāja of the inscription was one of the nine Nandas, and knowing that the Nandas reigned for a hundred years, the last yielding his patrimony to Chandragupta, we may assume that the date of Aira ranged between 316 and 416 B.C.

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restoration of the Khaṇḍgiri inscription, thanks to Mr. Kittoe, must be set down as a grand point gained to confute the arguments of the modernists, as they may be called, who would bring every thing Indian within the space of ten or twelve centuries. Thus we find Sir C. Malet wavering between the following accounts of Ellora derived from opposite sources :—

"The Mahomedan says, 'the town of Ellora was built by Rājā Eel, who also excavated the temples, and being pleased with them, formed the fortress of Deogiri (Daulatābād) which is a curious compound of excavation, scarping and building, by which the mountain was converted into a fort resembling, as some say, the insulated temple in the area of the Indra Subhā. Eel Rājā was contemporary with SHAH MOMIN ARIF who lived 900 years ago.'

"The Brahman on the other hand says—that the excavations of Ellora are 7894 years old, formed by EELOO Rājā, the son of PESHPONT OF *Ellichpore*, when 3000 years of the DVĀPAR YUG were accomplished. EELOO Rājā's body was afflicted with maggots, and in quest of cure he came to the purifying water named SEWALYE, or as it is commonly called SEWALLA, that had been curtailed by Viṣṇu to the size of a cow's hoof. He built a Kuṇḍ for it and bathing therein was purified.' (*Asiatic Researches*, VI, 385).

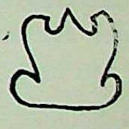
"In these conflicting stories we ean trace the selfsame tradition of ILA exteracted by Wilson from the Mackenzie records.

"It would be well worth while to re-examine the particular manuscript (the number of which is not, however, mentioned), to ascertain what further is said of him, and whether it be possible to consider him in the light of a real monarch of *Deogiri*; whose son could by possibility have imitated his father's propensity for forming impregnable mountain fortresses in the rocks of *Kaliṅga*: or whether the name is not rather AILA then ILA, which will make the same personage at both places, mythological or real, the originator of the excavations. Should an actual monarch, named after this demigod, have ruled in central India in the fourth century before Christ, his synonyme PURURAVAS would bring him satisfactorily into the conditions required for the Grecian Porus!" (*Journal, As. Soc.*, VI, pp. 1087 to 1089).

Again, according to the *Vāyu* and the *Matsya Purāṇas*,[24] the first of the nine Nandas who bore the second name of Mahāpadmapati reigned eighty years, and the other eight, twelve years. The period of eighty-eight years appears extraordinarily long for a single reign, and I am disposed to reduce it by at least five and twenty years. The second Nanda was called Sumālya, the last Dhana Nanda. We do not know the specific names of the other six. One of these probably was simply Nanda without any prefix, and if we accept him from that circumstance to be the prince meant in the inscription, the era of Aira will range between 325 and 340 B.C. It should be borne in mind, however, that all the nine [29] princess of Magadha were commonly known under the name of Nanda, and we are not at all in a position to say whether the writer of the inscription used the name in a generic, or a specific, sense. It is to be presumed that in giving a proper name he gave it in full, and did not strike off a syllable from it in a prose composition where a syllable more or less is of no consequence, and that consequently Aira lived at or a little before the time of Alexander's invasion in 327 B.C. ; but at any rate this much may be taken for certain that he lived within the hundred years preceding the accession of Chandragupta to the throne of Magadha in 316 B.C.

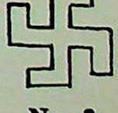
On the religion of Aira I shall have to make a few remarks in a subsequent part of this chapter.

At the beginning of the inscription, opposite the commencement of the first and the second lines, there is a symbol like the figure shown on the margin. (Woodcut No. 1). It bears some resemblance to the Tāntric symbol called Kūrmacakra, or "the Tortoise symbol," which is deemed an essential requirement when performing mystic rites, and particularly when a person is desirous of acquiring power over mystic *mantras* by repeating them a great number of times under particular restrictions. At such times an outline of the symbol is drawn on the earth, and the performer sits upon it. According to the *Tantrasāra* : "For him who, without knowing the Kūrmacakra, peforms the rite of *japa*, (repetition of a mystic *mantra* with a view to obtain command over it and supernatural powers,) the rite proves ineffectual, and leads to mischief". Ordinarily the symbol is looked upon as that of the earth. The resemblance, however, of the Kūrmacakra with the symbol under notice is not strong, and I am not, therefore, prepared to say for certain that it is really iutended for a tortoise. The three projections on the top may pass for the head and the fore-paws of the animal, and the side ones for the hind paws, but there is no mark for the tail, and this in the Hindu symbol is generally very prominent.



No. 1.

Below the last occurs the well-known *svastika*, but not formed in the usual way with single lines, but with double line as shewn on the margine (Woodcut No. 2) bearing in this respect some slight resemblance to the symbol called *nandyāvarta*, (Woodcut No. 3,) which was the emblem of the twenty-third Jain-Ara. The resemblance, however, appears to be accidental, and due to the artist's adopting the double line to set off the figure to



No. 2.

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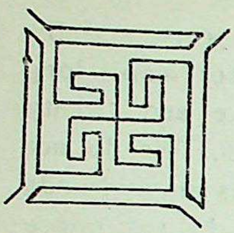
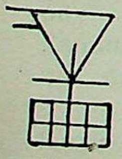
[24] Wilson's *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, p. 468.



No. 3.

the best advantage, and not to any defective attempt to produce the Nandyāvarta, the peculiar character of which is produced by the square which encloses the *svastika*, and not to the double lines. The *savastika* itself, however, is a Jain emblem, and is reckoned among the twenty four characteristic marks which were successively adopted by the different deified Jain saints for their emblems. These marks are thus enumerated by the Jain lexicographer Hemacandra : "The bull, the elephant, the horse, the monkey, the heron, the lotus, the *savastika*, the cresent, the shark (*makara*), the *Śrīvatsa*, the rhinoceros, the buffaloe, the hog, the eagle, the thunderbolt, the deer, the goat, the *nandyāvarta*, the water-jar, the tortoise, the blue lotus. the conch-shell, the cobra, and the lion are the emblems (or flags ? *dvajā*) of the Arhats." All these emblems are, however, common both to the Jains and the Buddhists, most of them, likewise, occur in the mystic writings of the Hindus. The *savastika* is particularly so ; it is avowedly Jain ; the Buddhists look upon it with great veneration, and many of their ancient princes adopted it for their seal, and impressed it on their coins ; and in the Tantras of the Hindus it is highly extolled for its mystic virtues. Nor is it confined to India alone, "for it occurs on the oldest Greek coins, on Etruscan vases, on the Newton Stone, Aberdeen, on Celtic monuments, and in ecclesiastical sculptures, styled there the Tetragrammaton, being supposed made up of four T, and the second confounded with that of the sacred *Tetragrammaton*. Similarly the Isis worshippers of Egypt marked the sacred vases of their goddess, before using it at their rites."[25] It occurs further among the Gnostics, and the Freemasons have adopted it as one of their mystic symbols. A modification of it is the distinctive badge of *xaca Japonicus* ; and the *crux ansata* and the *sistrum* are allied to it ; and persons are not wanting who fancy the European coronation orb to be closely related to this mystic cross. Dr. Inman takes it to be a phallic symbol.[26] That it is intimately connected with the pre-Christian cross, none who has studied the history of ancient mystic symbols will for a moment deny ; but it is not necessary for me to enter into the subject at length here, as a symbol of so wide a diffusion can be of little use in determining the religious leaning of the record.



No. 4

At the end of the inscription occurs a third mystic symbol, (Woodcut No. 4), which has somewhat the appearance of a street-lamp mounted on a cubic base. It has been noticed as a Buddhist monogram, and figured in Cunningham's Bhilsa Topes (Plate XXXII). That it has a phallic signification like the first three, I am very much disposed to believe, but what that signification is I am not in a position to explain. It has been suggested to me that it may be symbolic [30] representation of the *bo* tree with a rail round its trunk ; but the cubic base has no similitude to the characteristic Buddhist rail. The symbol occurs at the beginning of the short inscription by the door of the Tiger Cave but there the base is divided by a cross into four compartments only,

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[25] King's *Gnostics*, p. 176.

[26] *Ancient Faiths in Ancient Names. Subvoce* Svastika.

Within the cave there are several inscriptions, but of later dates some being in ill-formed and very carelessly scratched Gupta character of a degenerate type, others in equally degenerate Kuṭila. Four of these minor inscriptions occur on the east wall, three on the north wall of the second compartment, and two on the north wall of the third compartment. Prinsep thus describes these inscriptions : "The fragments (figs. 2 to 11) carelessly cut on various parts of the caves are for the most part imperfectly legible. They are in all probability merely the names of visitors as at Allahabad, Gaya, &c. The word *hotta*, 'a burnt-offering,' occurs in Nos. 3 and 6. No. 8 contains the name of KUVERAGNI, and No. 10 the title *uttoma kula vaṃśa*, 'descendant of an illustrious family.' It is unnecessary to dwell upon the reading of the rest, in which many letters and detached syllables might be easily transcribed, because they carry with them no trait of interest further than the fact, that the same transitions of the written character visible elsewhere are equally developed in the remains of these Kalinga monuments."[27] They were incised probably by idle monks who occupied the caves from time to time, or by silly visitors impelled by the same motive which leads to the carvings of obscure names under the dome of St. Paul. Lieut. Kittoe is said to have noticed a dated Kuṭila inscription of the tenth century,[28] but I did not find it. In Prinsep's plate (LIV. of vol. VI. *Journal*, *A.S.B.*), it forms No. 1 of the "Ganeśa or Elephant Cave inscription," and this shows that Prinsep identified the Ganeśa and the Elephant Caves to be the same, and no less an antiquarian than Mr. Fergusson has been misled by it so far as to assign a very modern date to the Ganeśa Cave on the strength of it. The two caves, however, are different and distinct, and the use of the alternative name with the word cave in the singular number is evidently due to a confounding of the two names from the fact of Ganeśa having an elephantine head, and being apt to be identified with an elephant. That the Kuṭila record is intended to be accepted as brought from the Elephant Cave is obvious from the inscriptions which are put below it, and described as from the same cave, and corresponding with the transcripts brought by me from the Hathi Gumphā. That Prinsep had the Elephant Cave in his mind in connexion with the record, is clear also from the remark in which he says : "The name of the king under whose just rule, the elephant cave was formed into a sacrifice cave connected with the worship of Prabhviśvara or Jagannāth, does not appear."[29]

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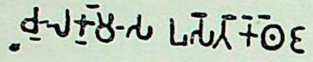
[27] *Journal As. Soc.*, VI., p. 1075.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] I copy the record from Prinsep's plate.

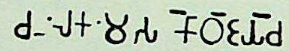
"Under the fortunate Government of an equitable prince, this cavern (was excavated),—to endure as long as the sun and moon—for the heaven-born *munis* – (or holy asceties), in the Virajā Kṣetra (or holy precincts) of the lord of gods (Jagannāth) as a cave of sacrifice (*ijya garbha*). In the Samvat year nine (muni)." It is just possible that this record exists in some dark corner of the Elephant Cave, which escaped my notice ; but its character is such that I strongly suspect that it was taken from some other locality by Major Kittoe, and by some accident or other having been wrongly labelled was mistaken by Prinsep. Its language is corrupt and the reading very doubtful. The use of the term Virajā-kṣetra in it is particularly suspicious. That word was a well-known name of Jājapur a thousand years ago, as it is now, and the word *jājapura* is a corruption of yajñapura or "the town of sacrifice," and the presumption is strong that the record is from Jājapura, and not Udaygiri, which never had the

Pavana Gumpha:—Immediately to the north of the Elephant Cave there is a small excavation which is known under the name of Pāvana Gumphā or the "Cave of Purification." It is of no importance whatever as a work of art; but it has an inscription in the Lāṭ character, and the following are James Prinsep's reading and remarks on the record :- "*Chulakamasa paseta kothaja* (*yā*). The word *paseta* may be the Sanskrit *prasrita*, 'the humble', sc.—cell of Chulakama. Chūdākarma is the right of tonsure—from *cūḍā*, a single lock of hair left on the crown of the head when shaved : and some allusion to a similar purpose of this cave seems preserved in its modern name of Pawana gubha, 'the cave of purification."[30]

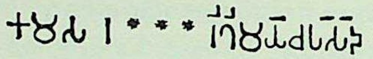


Sarpa Gumpha :—Retracing our steps now to the west of the Hāthi Gumphā, the first cave worthy of notice occurs on the most protruding ledge of the fracture between the Udayagiri and the Khaṇḍagiri hills (Plate XXI). It is remarkable for having in front, on the top of the entrance, a rude carving of the hood of a three-headed cobra. (Plate XX. E.1), whence its name Ajāgara Gumphā—*ajāgara*, a serpent that is able 'to swallow' (*gara*) 'a goat' (*ajā*) Under the hood of the serpent, the cave is cut in the form of a cube of 4 feet with a door just large enough to admit a man crawling in, and framed in the usual style. By the side of the door occurs a short inscription, in two parts of which the following are transcript and translation by James Prinsep :—[31]

1st Part -



2nd Part -



Chulakamasa kothājayācha—kamasa—rikhi nayache pasāde.

Bhajana and Alakapura Caves :—"The impregnable or unequalled chamber of Chulakarma, and the appropriate temple (or place) of Karma (Crishi ?)."[31] Similar to the last is a small cave of an irregular shape with a corresponding verandah in front called Bhajana Gumphā or the 'Cave of Meditation.' It measures in length eight feet in front, and fifteen feet behind with a breadth of ten feet; the height being seven feet (Plates I. K, and XVIII). It has no inscription, and is otherwise of no importance. The same may be said of the cave immediately adjoining it on the north. It is called Alakāpura or "the Palace of Indra." (Plate I. L).

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name of Virajākṣetra, nor and celebrity for sacrifice. Bhuvaneśvara and its neighbourhood have the nama of Harakṣetra, the abode of Śiva, and not that of his consort Virajā, and it is not at all likely that a man versed in Sanskrit and religious lore, and local knowledge, such as the writer of the record undoubtedly was, would confound two such distant places together. The name Harakṣetra must have been, as it is now, in everybody's mouth, in the tenth century, and it could not have been called Virajā by an intelligent person.

30. *Journal, As. Soc. of Bengal*, VI., p. 1074.

31. *Journal, As. Soc.*, VI., p. 1073.

Tiger cave :—Further north we come to the Tiger cave or Bāgh Gumphā (Pate I.M. and Plate XXVI). In size it is similar to the last, but its exterior is cut into the shape of a tiger's head. The distended jaws of the animal form the verandah, and the entrance to the cell occupies the place of the gullet. The head is remarkably well formed, and the chiselling is excellent. By the right of the entrance a short inscription in the Lāṭ character states that it originally belonged to one "Sasevin, a fierce antivedist." The record, in two lines, runs as follows :—

𑀉𑀕𑀭 𑀅𑀯𑁂𑀤𑀲 *ugara avedasa*. 𑀲𑀲𑀸𑀯𑀺𑀦𑁄 𑀮𑁂𑀦𑁄 *sasāvino leno*.[32]

Jems Prinsep takes *sasevino* to be an epithet, and *ugara avedasa* "of the fierce antivedist", the name ; but he assigns no meaning to the former. The word *ugra aveda* is so clearly an epithet and so unlike a proper name that I have no hesitation in reversing his order. The inscription has at the commencement a Buddhist monogram very like the one at the end of the Hāthi Gumphā record, except that it has the lower square divided by a single upright line and not by three lines. At the end of the inscription occurs a *śvatikā* mark.

Urdha-bahu and minor caves :—To the north of the Tiger cave, there are several excavations, with one exception, more like the lairs of wild beasts than human habitations, whose regular angles and corners alone attest their being the handiwork of man, and not natural caverns. They are shaped like cubes, each with a small entrance, in which a man can sit up in a painful position, but not lie down, or stretch himself. They are utterly devoid of all architectural embellishment, and call for no remark. Two or three of them have short Pāli inscriptions in the Lāṭ character, but in a miserable state of preservation and largely blotted. The exception refers to the Urdha Bāhu cave,—(Plate I. N.) a one-storeyed chamber, twelve feet by six feet with a verandah of corresponding size, faced by a line of three pillars having lion capitals and brackets projecting in front, and carved like female figures. It has an inscription in the Lāṭ character ; but so mutilated, that I could make nothing of it.

Khandagiri :—I now come to the Khaṇḍagiri Hill. It faces the east, and is accessible by a path rising from behind the Government bungalow. Its highest point measures 123 feet from the surrounding country. The path is made by scraping the side of the hill but at the upper part there are some rough-hewn steps ; at the height of about 50 feet the path devides into two branches, one leading to the right, and terminating at the foot of a terrace in front of a cave which stands at the height of between 65 and 75 feet, and the other ascending towards the left, and leading to a range of caves, which has been cut into the eastern face of the hill : these latter have no open terrace in front of them. The front of the hill is clothed with verdure, and thickly covered with trees, but on the top the rock crops up to the surface which is devoid of soil (Plate XXV).

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[32] *Journal, As. Soc. of Bengal*, VI, p. 1073.

Ananta Cave :—The terrace on the right side has been made artificially by the removal of a large mass of rock so as to afford a good scarp on one side for the excavation of a cave temple to which it leads by two very broad steps. Its area is limited, but under the shade of a large *pepul* tree, it appears very romantic with the caves of Udayagiri and its fractured face in front.

The cave temple stands to the south of this terrace, and comprises a narrow long room with four doorways and a verandah in front (Plate XVIII). The length of the room is greater in front than behind, but the reverse is the case with the length of the verandah; the greatest length of the former being twenty-four feet and six inches in front, and the shortest behind twenty-one feet and six inches, and of the latter in front twenty-five feet, and behind twenty-seven feet. The breadth of the former is seven feet and of the latter five feet. The verandah has a range of three pillars, which with the terminal piers produce four openings corresponding to the four doorways of the chamber. The pillars are divided into three sections, of which the central one is octagonal, and the lower [32] and upper ones square. They have no plinths nor any distinct capital; but each of them has in front of the place where the capital should have been a bracket projecting forwards and shaped like a woman. The architrave is heavy, and over it, supported on corbels, is a parapet formed of pyramidal battlements with intervening bunches of flowers. The walls both of the room and of the verandah are perfectly perpendicular, but the ceiling of the room is slightly arched, whereas that of the verandah is flat. The only carved ornament in the room is an image of Buddha in low relief on the centre of the back wall. One of the piers of the front wall has fallen down, causing thereby two contiguous doorways to coalesce into one. The mouldings round the doors are of the Udayagiri type with arched tops and intervening frieze, but the pilasters are richer and more elaborately carved (see Plate XXIV, D.3). The frieze is in five compartments corresponding with the five piers of the front wall, but one of the five is lost by the destruction of one of the piers. Beginning, therefore, with the next compartment, on the left side, we have two human figures in a running or flying position, one proceeding to the left and the other to the right. They are dressed in *dhuti* and *chādara*, the ends of which are flying in the air. Their heads are enveloped in large heavy turbans; on their wrists there are bangles; and massive rings are pendant from their ears. Each of them carries a tray of offerings in his left hand, the right hand being left free. The band of the arch to the right of these figures is in its general character similar to those of the Queen's Palace and Ganeśa Caves. It is formed of two fillets enclosing a line of ornamental figures. The first object at the spring of the arch is a stout athlete in a kneeling posture, over whom stands a man holding back, by its two hind legs, a lion running forward towards a man, who is busy tussling with an enraged bull, which he has caught by the left horn, and is about to strike it with an uplifted stick in his right hand. Then comes a lion held by its near hind leg by a man, who stands on the head of an athlete similar to the figure at the opposite spring of the arch. The crown of the arch is formed by the intertwining of the tails of two serpents, whose bodies encircle the arch, and whose triple-headed hoods form two prominent wings on its two sides. Over the arch is seen a Buddhist rail running in continuation with the parapet on the verandah. Under the rail, and the pyramidal battlements is a series of squared blocks or a corbel table for the support of the arch. Of course here the whole wall with the frieze and ornaments on it being cut out of the solid rock, the corbels are utterly uncalled for as mechanical supports, and must, therefore, be taken as attempts to represent in stone the ends of rafters which in a wooden house would form the sustaining members of cornices and other superstructure, as unquestionably most corbels are, but their presence can no more be accepted as a proof of the recent transition of the caves from wood to stone than the corbel table under the cornice of the Pantheon, be assumed to be a proof of that glory of the builder's art having been copied directly from a wooden model. As elsewhere stated, there is a spirit of survival of custom which continues long after the exigencies which gives its birth, and this is one of them.

The semicircular space under the arch, i.e. the tympanum is occupied by a nude female figure standing amidst a lotus bush, and holding a lotus stalk in each hand (Plate XXIII, D. 1). On each side of her, there are two elephants, one standing on a full-blown lotus, and the other on a thalamus ; their trunks uplifted, as if in the act of throwing a shower of water on the central figure. The group is claimed by the Hindus as peculiarly their own ; and is well known in Bengal under the name of Mahālakṣhmī, or 'the great goddess of fortune'. The Vaiṣṇavas claim her as a form of Lakṣmī, consort of Viṣṇu, and the lady protectress of wealth ; and the Śāktas accept har as Durgā in one of her various manifestations. The former, when engaged in worship, meditate on her, as "a lady standing amidst lotuses, bright as pure gold, being besprinkled with water from golden pitchers held by the trunks of four elephants white as the Himalaya mountain, twirling in her hand a couple of beautiful and auspicious lotuses, the emblems of encouragement, crowned with a bright diadem, and dressed in silken raiment". The latter, in describing her, use almost the identical words. They adore her as "the consort of Hari, seated on a lotus delicate as the heavenly creeper *pārijāta*, radiant as an image of lustrous jewels, constantly besprinkled with water from golden pitchers held by the trunks of four majestic elephants white as snow, cheering the faint-hearted by twirling in her hands a couple of lotuses".[33] The *Svatantra Tantra* reconciles the conflict between the Vaiṣṇavas and the Śāktas by saying, that "the goddess is identically the same with the lady Lakṣmī, who was produced originally at the churing of the ocean ; but that when Brahmā, intent on creating the universe performed an austere fast, Śākti, the great goddess, was highly gratified, and on the night of the 9th of the waxing moon in the month of Chaitra, manifested herself as the all-powerful consort of Śiva. She abides on the breast of Viṣṇu. She is the destroyer of Kāla demons, who is the lady of the lotus seat. She was [33] (again) born on the the 8th of the wane in the month of Bhādra, as Mahāmātaṅgiṉī, the great owner of elephants. On Thursday, the 11th of the wane sacred to Bhīma, she was born as Mahālak-

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33. *Tantrasāra.*

ṣmī. She is the bestower of all blessings." A modification of the form of this goddess occurs very frequently in wild parts of Bengal and Orissa, under the name of Bāsuli, a non-Aryan goddess, who has been identified by some with Viśālākṣhī or the large-eyed lady, the ox-eyed Juno of Aryan India. Adverting to a counterpart of this goddess, Mr. Beames says : "Her rude woodland temples are found still in the mountains and sub-mountain jungles of Western Bengal, and all down the hill ranges of Oaissa, and I have even met with them on the Subarnarekhā, and along the coast of the Bay of Bengal. A fine Sanskrit name has been fitted to this wild forest divinity, and she is called by the Brāhmaṇas, Viśālākṣhī or the large-eyed. Her statues represent her holding in her uplifted arms two elephants, from whose trunks water pours on to her head."[34] Visālākṣhī as portrayed in the *Tantras* is a very different personage. According to the *Ādi-yāmala Tantra*, quoted in the *Tantra-sāra*, "she is a large-eyed matron of the complexion of molten gold, two-handed, fierece, armed with a sword and a skull, adorned with a profusion of ornaments, draped in blood-red garments, perennially youthful, smiling faced, three-eyed, wearing a garland of skulls, high and large busted, seated on the person of Śiva, crowned with matted locks and a tiara, the goddes destroyeress of enemies and giver of every blessing to her adorers." This cannot possibly be the type of the lotus lady Kamalātmikā, or of the gentle Bāsulī of the woods, the titular goddess of Sāgar Island. In the Bengali *Chaṇḍī* of Kavikaṅkana, the goddess is represented as seated on a lotus on the open sea, holding an elephant in each hand, and engaged in the very unfeminine occupation of alternately swallowing and throwing up the elephants. In this shape, she is said to have manifested herself to the merchant Dhanapatī, one of her devout worshippers, who had lost his way in the Bay of Bengal.

Nor is the goddess confined to the Hindus and the aborigines. She is as frequently met with the Buddhist fanes. The cave under notice is unquestionably a Buddhist temple from the fact of a figure of Bhddha occupying the most prominent position on the centre of the hind wall of the chamber, and yet we have the goddess also on the frieze. On the tympanum of a niche or back-frame of a statue found at Manikyāla she occurs in a slightly modified form under an arch formed by the twining of the trunks of two elephants standing rampart on the two sides ; below the elephants are two bulls, and behind them a thatched hut on each side. Close by the goddess are two female attendants. The goddess holds a lotus, but therc is no lotus bush beside her, or under her feet[35] The bulls here noticed are probably ill-formed images of elephants.

The Jains likewise regard this lotus lady as an auspicious one, and among "the fourteen most excellent, prosperity-foreboding, evil-destroying, wealth-conferring, fortunate, delightsome dreams" which Trisalā dreamt on the occasion when Mahāvīra was transferred to her womb from that of Devānandī, Mahālakṣmī, seated on a lotus with two elephants pouring water on her head, appears as the fourth. The dream is thus described in the *Kalpa Sūtra*, a work of the beginning of the 5th century (A.D. 411), which is esteemed as the most sacred of the scriptures of the Jains : "The fourth dream seen by her whose face was like a moon, was a vision of the goddess Lakṣmī, sitting on her lofty lotus throne. Her form was altogether excellent, one foot was firmly planted on the ground and seemed like a pillar of gold ; it was elevated in the centre like the back of a tortoise, while the nails partly hid by the muscles of the toes, were stained with a brilliant dye. Her fingers and toes were soft and tapering like the leaves of the lotus ; her well-formed legs were adorned with circular ornaments ; her knee-bones were hid in the muscles, and her thighs tapering downward like the trunk of an elephant. Encircling her loins was an elegant zone of gold, while the circle of the navel resembled a cloud of black bees, being continuous, fine, ever-moving, soft, downy, large,elegant. The other three circles which are in the middle of the palms of her hands were also elegantly formed. Her whole body was adorned with various kinds of jewels, wholly faultless, and highly brilliant. In particular, she had a pearl necklace, intermingling with garlands of sweet-scented flowers. A circular pendant fell down between her breasts, and adorned her chest, on which it rested. She had also around her neck a string of grains and golden *dinars* (coins). Two large earrings hung down from her ears, and illuminated the shoulders with **[34]** which they came in contact. Every thing about her was beautiful ; her face had a noble aspect ; her eyes were large and lovely, like lotus flowers ; she held a water-lily, still dripping with water in her hand ; and she was fanned by an agreeable wind, which set in motion her fine black braided hair. Such was the goddess, the queen saw residing in her lotus house, called Padmadraha, on the top of the Mount Himavat, and by whom stood the guardian elephant of that quarter of the heavens, bathing her with water from his trunk."[36] The text thus has only one elephant, but in the plate given in Mr. Stevenson's translation, two elephants are shown standing each on a cup in the lady's hands.

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[34] *Indian Antiquary*, II., p. 187.

[35] *Journal, As. Soc.*, V., p. 471, plate XX.

Again, in a silver didrachma of Azelisas, brought by Mr. Arthur Grote from Peshawer, and described by me,[37] I find on reverse a female figure to the front standing on a lotus ; the left hand rests on the waist, and the right over the stomach, holding something ; on each side is a lotus-stalk rising as high as the waist and bearing an expanded flower, whereon stands an elephant with its trunk extended over the head of the central figure. This reverse is evidently founded on the type of the Azas' square coin with the trident reverse (*Ariana Antiqua*, plate VII, fig. 5, p. 327), which has a female figure standing amidst twining creepers, and it may unhesitatingly be said that the figures on the coins are intended to represent the same personage whom the Hindus designate Mahālakṣmī. As the goddess of fortune and good luck, her figure was most appropriate on coins issued in the neighbourhood of India, and for currency amongst a nation entertaining at the time strong Hindu notions. It would not be very presumptuous to suppose that Mahālaksmī at the time was not worshipped as a divinity for salvation, but as the regent of good fortune, and as such, the Buddhist laity had no objection to her, and, with the natural instinct of man in favour of everything that tends to his temporal welfare, admitted her existence even as they did that of Indra, the god of rain, and showed her some respect: or possibly they got up a Buddhist version of her story, as they did of many other Hindu legends, and received her as a goddess of their own, and the Bactro-Greek sovereigns got her from the Buddhists. Anyhow, seeing that the image of the goddess occurs as frequently among Buddhist, as among Hindu remains, it would be unwarrantable to found upon her presence any theory about the religious character of the cave in question.

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[36] *Opus cit.*, p. 44

[37] *Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1868*, p. 184. A figure of the coin is given on plate II of *Proceedings for 1869*, p. 124.

The third compartment is an exact counterpart of the second ; but the arch which follows has two lines of geese running with spread wings from the opposite sides towards the crown (Plate XXII). Each goose has a flower pendant from its bill. The Buddhist rail on the top occupies only the space over the heads of the serpents, being replaced on the arch itself by a pyramidal parapet. The subject of illustration on the tympanum is the *bo* tree to which a lady of rank has come to pay her adorations, and is standing before it with folded hands ; one of her attendants has a garland in her hand ready for her mistress to offer it to the tree, and the others hold urns of water and trays of offerings ready for the same purpose. The whole scene is an exact counterpart of the adoration of the *bo* tree, of which so many representations occur at Sāñchī, Amarāvatī, and other Buddhist shrines. In the last compartment, the flying or running figures of the left side are repeated, but both the figures face the same (left) side, and not opposite sides.

On the back wall of the verandah there are two inscriptions, one in the Lāṭ character, and above it the other in Kuṭila form of the Sanskrit. Both of the them were so broken and filled up with dirt and moss, that I could not take legible facsimiles of them ; only a few letters in the middle of the Lāṭ character inscription could be made out. According to my note-book, the Sanskrit one comprises four lines of ten letters each. The Kuṭila inscription published by Prinshep as form the "Elephant or Ganeśa Cave," which I have not been able to trace, is in five lines of thirteen letters each, and I cannot therefore identify it with this record. It is, however, not of much importance, as the Lāṭ inscription leaves no room to doubt that the cave was cut many centuries before the Kuṭila letters came into currency in India, and that the Kuṭila record is a fictitious one got up to explain away what the writer knew nothing about.

Kalachandra's Cave :—Retracing our course now to the spot where the steps divide into two branches, and proceeding to the left side, we come to a gallery of modern construction. To the south of the last at a distance of about 30 feet, there is another range of theee openings with two lines of pillars of which the inner line is broken. There are no sculptures in this range nor any ornament, but there is a Sanskrit inscription in the Nāgarī character of the twelfth century, which says the cave belonged to Ācārya Kalacandra and his pupil Vellacandra.

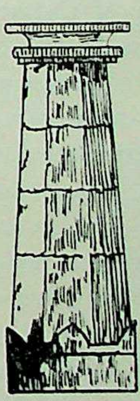
The inscription runs thus :—

śrīācārya kalacandrasya tasya śiṣya vellacandrasya
kātāṃ dharyo

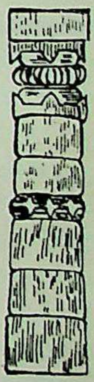
The four letters in the second line are, I believe, corruptions of *kīrtidhvaja*, "the flag of good work," which the gallery is intended to serve.

[35] There is nothing in its appearance which would necessitate the attribution of this cave to an earlier date than what this inscription would indicate ; but at the same time, bearing in mind that the Kuṭila inscription of Major Kittoe, which attributes either the Elephant, or the Ganeśa, or the Ananta Cave, wherever it occurs, to the tenth century, when in reality the cave belongs to a much earlier period, and seeing that inscriptions have been recorded long after the date of the preparation of the caves, (and nothing is easier than scratching names on soft sandstone), there is no evidence to prove the recent excavation of this chamber besides the record which is not reliable.

Jain Caves :—We next come to another range of caves facing the east, and divided into two compartments by a partition across the middle which is known by the name of Jain Gumpā or "Jain Caves" (Plate XXVI, A). Each of these compartments is divided into two aisles by a range of pillars along the middle. The compartment on the right side is twenty-one feet six inches long, and eight feet high, the breadth of the outer aisle being four feet four inches, and that of the inner one six feet eight inches. The pillars along the middle are formed of round shafts with a narrow fillet round the middle which have denticulations above and below, and capitals formed of two tiles of unequal size enclosing a flattened ribbed ball, the upper or larger tile having a row of triangular denticulations looking downwards, and the lower one the same denticulations looking upwards (Woodcut No. 6). On the back wall are carved in low relief a series of seated Dhyānī Buddhas and some nude standing images of Jina Deva. At the east end there is a raised altar of masonry—probably not a hundred years old—on which are ranged a number of small Jain images, each about sixteen inches high and nude, as the images of the Digambarī sect of the Oswāls usually are.



No. 5.



No. 6.

The second compartment is 22 feet 4 inches in length, the height and breadth being as in the last. The pillars of the front row are also of the same pattern as in the first compartment, but those in the inner row are octagonal and very much tapering (Woodcut No. 5). On the back wall along its whole length occurs a series of Dhyānī Buddhas each one foot high, and below it in a separate frame a female figure seated on a large stool, with one leg crossed and the other hanging. Below the stool is a lion couchant. Some of the female figures are four-handed, others eight-handed.

Beyond these three galleries are irregularly dispersed at different heights several small caves more like the lairs of animals than human habitations, but all cut by the hand of man, and intended for hermits who crawled into them, and protected themselves from the inclemencies of the weather in a seated or inclining position, but without the means of stretching their length, or standing up. Architecturelly considered they are of no importance whatever.

Jain Temple :—Ascending now the top of the hill, we come to a Jain Temple which forms the most picturesque feature of the place (Plate XXV). In itself a structure of a recent date, being only about eighty-years old, and in style having nothing to commend it to particular attention, being small, insignificant and totally devoid of ornament, it is nevertheless the most prominent and attractive object on these hills. Perched on the very crest of the hill, and commanding a wide view as far as the eye can reach, with the low hills of Domapārā on the one side, and the Great Tower of Bhuvaneśvara on the other, and an open country all round, whose sterile, ungrateful, laterite soil is relieved here and there by topes of mango and bamboo, and tolerably large patches of cultivation, the temple enjoys one of the finest and most romantic sites which could be selected in this part of the country for raising the mind of man from its mundane surroundings to an undisturbed contemplation of the author of creation. The Jains have been particularly fortunate in this respect, and all their more important temples have been placed on especially picturesque sites. Like the generality of Hindu temples in Orissa, this temple comprises two parts, a temple proper and the Jagamohan, but both built in the style of the Jagamohan, and plastered over with stucco. The former is twenty-seven feet square and twenty-five feet high, the latter six feet smaller in both ways. The sanctuary contains a standing figure of Mahāvīra in black stone, one foot high, placed on a wooden chair. The temple was built by Manju Chaudhuri and his nephew Bhavānī Dādu of Cuttack, Jain merchants of the Digambarī sect. In the front of the temple there is a fine terrace, about fifty feet square, with a raised masonry seat all round. The Jains are very particular about this terrace as an appurtenance to their temples, and invariably have it in front of all their places of worship. Their temples being, with some notable exceptions, small and not fit to accommodate any large number of persons at the same time, these terraces are very useful for the congregation to assemble on. To the north of the terrace there is a very small temple, and on either side of the main temple there are also small buildings with pyramidal roofs, but they were closed when I have visited the place.

This Jain establishment is left in charge of a Brāhman of Bhuvaneśvara, who keeps it very carefully swept and clean, but his duties as a priest are of the ligthest. There is no daily service, and feasts occur only twice a year, once on the thirteenth [36] of the moon in the month of Chaitra when a large number of the Oswāl merchants of Cuttack, Puri and other neighbouring places assemble to pay their respects to Mahāvīra, the last of the twenty-four Jinas, and celebrate the anniversary of his brith day ;[38] and again on the 5th of the wane in the month of August, when another feast of importance, the Parjusana, or reading of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, is observed.[39] Travellers from distant parts of India also visit the place from time to time, and on all such occasions, the Brahman priest is in attendance to perform the rites of a heterodox faith, and thereby earn a precarious and scanty living. It should be added, however, that the Jain ritual is of the simplest, and the worshippers generally go through it themselves without the intervention of priests, and the resident priest's duties are more that of a sexton than those of a clergyman. Mr. Stirling states that "all round the Jain temples are strewed a quantity of images of the Nirvānas or naked figures worshipped by the Jain sect, executed chiefly in the grey chlorite slate rock";[40] but I clould find no trace of these; probably they had been removed by travellers and the people of the neighbourhood as objects of curiosity, or as images of gods to be worshipped in their private dwellings. Some of the loose figures in the galleries above noted are probably a part of those that in Stirling's time were lying about uncared-for.

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[38] "It was in the summer season, in the first month in the second demilunation, during the bright half of the moon of Chaitra, on the thirteenth day, after a gestation of nine months and seven and a half days, that the venerable ascetic Mahāvīra was born, a faultless child, when the planets were at their greatest elongation, and when they were in a fortunate conjunction with the moon, while all the regions were in a state of placidity, while there was no darkness, but all luminous, without any louring

Deva Sabha :—To the south-west of the temple there is a large, open, smooth piece of ground or terrace gently slopping towards the west, which bears the name of Deva Sabhā, or "the assembly of the gods." It measures about one hundred and fifty feet across, and is coated with a thin sheet of turf. On the centre of this area is built a small square pillar having on each side, a figure of Buddha in bas-relief, and round it are placed a number of model Chaityas arranged in four rows, making four complete circles. The Chaityas are two and a half to three feet in height, with a cubic base and a pyramidal spire, having on each side of the base an image of Buddha. The style of these Chaityas is similar to that of such structures found in Buddha Gayā, but the images are standing and nude, and not seated and draped, as is usual in the last named place. Altogether there are between eighty and ninety of these models, some of which are brokan, and others lying prostrate. Probably there were a hundred of them when originally set up. Three small boulders set in a triangle and covered over by a slab of sandstone, forming a perfect dolmen, stand in a part of the inner circle. The ground under this Celtic altar is not raised, and there is no appearance of its having been raised over a grave, at least I had no opportunity of digging into it to ascertain the fact. The structure was obviously never intended to serve the purposes of a cist under a barrow; had it been originally buried under a mound, it would have been dispersed by a mere fraction of the labour which would have been required to remove the surrounding earth, and that labour

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redness, and nightingales (*syāmā : Turdus macrouras*) singing songs of triumph, of the waxing and the purifying wind moving gently along, and circling the place where lay the Lord and his mother. The joyous multitude were engaged in celebrating the vernal festival, and even the earth seemed to share in the delight. It was at midnight under the constellation Uttara Phālguni, at a lucky conjunction of the moon and planets, that the event took place". Stevenson's *Kalpa Sūtra*, p. 74.

[39] Stevenson's *Kalpa Sūtra*, p. 7, *et. seq.*

[40] *Asiatic Researches*, XV, p. 312.

would for certain have been brought to bear upon it long before the mound would be completely demolished. It may be noted that, whatever truth there may be in the subterranean theory regarding megalithic dolmens, the microlithic structures of the kind in India, have nowhere been intended for a subterranean locale. They have always been built above ground with the express object of being preserved open and exposed to view.[41] The dolmen of the Deva Sabhā most probably covers the sepulture of some non-Aryan chief or Priest. Small and insignificant as the circles above described are, they are interesting as showing the relation they bear to the more pretentious Buddhist rails of Sāñchī, Amarāvatī and Buddha Gayā, the lofty staves of the circles round the Tope of Anurādhāpur in Ceylon, and the megalithic circles of Stonehenge and other Druidical remains in Europe. The dolmen is also worthy of notice, as the like of it has, I believe, been nowhere seen in the midst of a Buddhist tope. Though topes are doubtless no other than the old Tamulian or Turanian barrows, which are common enough over the graves of some of the Tamulian races in India, yet since their adoption by the Buddhist, they have ceased to be exclusively Tamulian, and it would be misleading to take a tope to be a barrow pure and simple. The name of Deva Sabhā given to this place is of course a modern one, due to the anxiety of the Hindus to appropriate everything ancient to their faith.

There is nothing to fix the date of the dolmen, or to justify the supposition that it was raised by the same race or persons who perforated the caves ; I am disposed to think that the dolmen was set up by some of the backwoods of Orissa after the caves had been deserted by the Buddhists, and the model *chaityas* were used for the surrounding circles instead of uncarved blocks because they were found ready at hand, lying near the caves, and they saved the trouble of hewing out blocks for the purpose from the living rock.

[37] Akasa-ganga Tank :—To the east of the Deva Sabhā, at a distance of about a hundred yards, and at a height of about sixty feet from the surrounding country, there is a small tank of an oblong form cut into the solid rock, and said to be fed by a natural fountain at the bottom. In November, when I saw it, it was about half full, and its water was sweet, but of a somewhat greenish colour. The water is said to last all the year round, and is reached by a flight of steps each five feet long. The modern name of this tank is Ākāśa-gaṅgā, or "the aerial Ganges." As an appurtenance to the temple on the hill, and to the caves when they were occupied, it was of great value ; but now-a-days, it is never made use of, except by pilgrims, who sprinkle a few drops of its water over their heads with the conviction that they thereby free themselves from the accumulated sins of many transmigrations : the water is never drunk. I had no means of ascertaining whether the tank is really fed by a natural spring or not. There is nothing to show that this is the tank referred to in the Aira inscription.

Lalatendra Kesari Cave :—Immediately below the tank and at a short distance to the right, there is a large cave called Lalāṭendra Keśarī Gumphā, where the mortal remains of Rājā Lalāṭendra of the Keśarī dynasty are said to lie at rest. The entrances to it are now closed, and I was not able to examine its interior. Exteriorly there is nothing of importance from an architectural point of view. I have no reason to suspect that it is other than a Buddhist cell. Close by this cave there are two or three small buildings with pyramidal roofs of modern construction.

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[41] Fergusson's *Rude Stone Monuments*, p. 44.

Religion of the early cave-dwellers :—I have hitherto accepted the caves of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri to be of Buddhist origin, and from the various relics of Buddhism which have been above noticed, few will be disposed to question the conclusion I have come to. It is nevertheless necessary to examine here some of the grounds upon which the caves may by supposed to represent other than the religion of Śākya Muni. The first objection that may be started against my conclusion would be founded on the salutation at the beginning of the Elephant Cave. That it is word for word the same with the first clause of the Jain Gāyatrī has already been admitted *(ante* p. [17],) and it may reasonably be argued that it would justify the assumption that Aira was a follower of the Jain religion. It is, however, well-known that the Jains are an early heretical sect of the Hīnayāna school of the Buddhists, and therefore the similitude in the salutation cannot be accepted as a conclusive proof in either way. Then the word Arhat is common to both the Jains and the Buddhists and the latter used it at a very early period of their history ; consequently it is of no use as a test. Had the word Jina occurred in the salutation it would have been of some weight, though not conclusive, for Śākya Buddha bore the name of Jina, and the use of the term would not therefore necessarily imply another sect. Aira, besides, according to my calculation as shown above, lived long before the time of the Jain heresy, and too near the time of Śākya to have been a follower of the doctrine of Mahāvīra. According to the most recent theory the Jain faith is not older than the first, or, at the earliest, the second century before Christ, whereas Aira lived at least a hundred and fifty years before that time, and within a hundred years after the Orissan kings received a share of the relics of Śākya, and it is not at all probable, therefore, that he should have belonged to other than the orthodox Buddhist faith.

Adverting to the salutation James Prinsep is of opinion that it "evidently betokens a more matured and priestly style of composition" than that of the edicts of Aśoka, which begin abruptly with the name of the king. It is undeniable that a salutation at the beginning is an indication of a priestly style, but it does not follow that a record which has a salutation must necessarily be later than one which has it not. Such a canon of criticism would mislead at every step, and needs no argument to show how worthless it is. Buddhism had flourished, at the lowest computation, for two hundred and fifty years before it was adopted by Aśoka, and during that period, two very large and important convocations had been held to settle the doctrines of the faith, and its followers had multiplied by millions, and it would be absurd to suppose that during all that time no settled form of salutation had been adopted and brought into use. Before the Buddhists, the Hindus had universally used well-established forms of salutation and mantras, and when the same Hindus became Buddhists it would follow that they should adopt modified forms of salutation and mantras suited to their new faith ; and that they did so, there is abundant evidence to show. I cannot, therefore, for a moment believe that the salutation in question is indicative of a later date for Aira than that of Aśoka. The abrupt style of Aśoka's edicts, I fancy, is due to his intimate connexion with Western nations, and a desire to imitate the style of Darius, who in his cuneiform inscriptions always began with "I Darius, the great king, the king of kings, the king of Persia and of the provinces, says," &c., &c. Such style is well suited to the spirit of an ambitious and great monarch, and requires only to be known to be at once adopted.

The second objection to the Buddhism of the caves may be founded on the absence of those prominent marks of that faith which are to be met with elsewhere. Among the caves of Western India, the largest and most sumptuous chambers are obviously so made as to represent sanctuaries, temples, or places for religious worship. In Behar, too, the principal cave has a Dehgopa, or relic depository, showing that it was a sanctuary where people assembled for purposes of offering their [38] respect and adoration to the founder of Buddhism through his relic. Nothing of the kind, however, occurs in the largest cave of Udayagiri, the Queen's Palace, and, with the solitary exception of the Buddhist rails shown in bas-relief on the friezes, there is no unquestionable and positive Buddhist emblem in any part of its structures. The bas-reliefs and statues are ornamental or historical ; the chambers are so constructed as to serve as dwellings and not places of worship, and the accessories are all such as may be met with in a Hindu monastery quite as appropriately as in a Buddhist one. The exception of the rails above noticed does not by any means afford unquestionable and irrefragable evidence one way or the other. True it is that this rail has been invariably met with on ancient Buddhist relics and never on an undoubted Hindu building ; but, in the first place, no Hindu building of the time of the Buddhagayā rails, or the Sāñchī Tope, or the Behar caves, has yet been met with, and therefore the absence of the peculiar rails on them goes for nothing ; and, in the second place, the peculiarity of upright posts with three or four cross bars to form a rail is by no means such as to be decisive evidence in the cave. The most obvious and simple mode of fencing is to have uprights at short intervals with connecting bars whose number is regulated by the peculiar exigency of each individual case. Every farm-gate in England is in reality a reproduction of the Buddhist rail, only not so heavy looking, because it is of wood, whereas the latter, being of stone, is heavy and clumsy. And what is said of the Queen's Palace may with equal propriety be said of all the other caves of Udayagiri. There is not a single image of Buddha or a Chaitya in any part of this hill. These arguments appear, at first sight, to be very strong ; but they are nevertheless quite fallacious. They accept as majors what have no right to be considered as such, and assume as facts what cannot be so accepted. Doubtless there are some caves in India which have Buddhist emblems carved on them ; but we have no more right to conclude therefrom that all Buddhist caves should bear such emblems, than to conclude that because some churches have mural tablets, all churches should have them. A religion founded on atheism, which recognised no necessity for worshipping images, can well exist—nay flourish—

without its sanctuaries bearing emblems of its sectarial or specific character. It is very probable, though it is not quite certain that in the time of Aśoka emblems and images had become common, but there is literally no evidence whatever to show that a century before his time emblems and images were held in the same estimation, and that Buddhist monasteries were invariably built or excavated with prominent emblems of the faith fixed on them ; and in the absence of such evidence, it is futile to accept the hypothesis, for it is no better, as a universally accepted major, and to argue upon it. The hypothesis besides takes for granted the present absence of emblems and relics as equivalent to the absence thereof in former times. It is true that in law the Scotch verdict of "not proven" is in criminal cases, as far as the prisoner is concerned, tantamount to "not guilty," but in history absence of evidence at one time cannot be taken as proof of no evidence having ever existed. There are, doubtless, no unquestionably Buddhist images or emblems to be met with now in the Udayagiri caves, but we have no reason to suppose that they never were there in former times. Only fifty years ago, Mr. Stirling found, "strewed all around and in the neighbourhood of the Jain temple, a quantity of images of the Nirvānas, or naked figures worshipped by the Jain sect, executed chiefly in the grey chlorite slate rock"[42] none of which are now traceable. The people of the surrounding country must have taken them away, and either destroyed them, or consecrated them as household Hindu gods. This process must have gone on for many centuries since the downfall of Buddhism and the occupation of the caves by Hindu ascetics, and it is rather remarkable that some images should have been extant fifty years ago, than that no traces of any should be found now. Mr. Stirling was not familiar with Buddhist images, for in his times researches into the antiquities of Buddhism had scarcely begun ; and seeing that he mistook the images on the four sides of the model Chaityas of the Deva Sabhā for Jain deities,[43] it would not be unreasonable to conclude that some at least of the "quantity of images" he saw were Buddhist, those of the Nirvāna particularly, as we find even in our day an unmistakable Buddha image occupying the most prominent place in the Ananta Gumphā within fifty yards of the nearest Udayagiri cave. It is not known when the Jains first took possession of Khaṇḍagiri, but notwithstanding their close relationship with the Buddhists, they have never and nowhere been mindful Buddhist relics ; on the contrary, as at Sārnāth and elsewhere, they have destroyed Buddhist shrines to raise temples for Pārasvanātha with their materials. Tradition has it that even at Udayagiri they demolished a great number of caves to devote the stones to the erection of the temple which now crowns the top of Khaṇḍagiri, and there is nothing to show that they spared the images which could be much more readily employed in building than the walls of the caves. That the image in the Ananta Cave has escaped is probably due to the fact of its being cut in low relief on the back-wall into the living rock, and could not be easily removed. Of course they brought no iconoclastic zeal to bear upon the remains they found around them, nor looked upon the destruction of images as an act of religious merit in the same way as the Moslims did, and so they removed only what they required, and spared what was not wanted by them. Doubtless these facts only [39] indicate the probability of Buddhist remains having been removed or destroyed, but do not prove that there were Buddhist images and emblems in the caves ; but the bas-relief of Buddha in the Ananta Cave is unquestionable, and so are the Chaityas with Buddhist images on the Deva Sabhā. The Chaityas are particularly Buddhist, no other sect in India having ever raised or worshipped them, and they leave no doubt of at least the principal cave on Khaṇḍagiri being Buddhistical.

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[42] *Asiatic Researches*, XV., p. 312.

[43] *Loc. cit.*

Now, the Ananta Cave has an inscription in identically the same Lāṭ character which occurs on several of the Udayagiri caves, and its evidence fully justifies the assumption that the latter were bored and originally occupied by the followers of the same religion who excavated the Ananta shrine. According to James Prinsep, the Lāṭ character was current from the fifth to the third century before Christ, when Aśoka recorded his edict on the Dhauli Hill, Bhuvaneśvara was a large and flourishing seat of Buddhism. Then that city was bounded on the one side by Khaṇḍagiri and on the other by Dhauli,[44] and the latter place was doubtless selected for the edicts, because it was a part of a large and thriving Buddhist city, for it would be puerile to believe that the edicts were set up in an uninhabited place, or amidst a hostile Hindu population ; and if Dhauli, Bhuvaneśvara and Khaṇḍagiri were at the time Buddhist, we cannot but accept the Buddhism of the caves of Udayagiri,—the premisses lead inevitably to the conclusion, and cannot be avoided. The evidence of the rails in the Udayagiri friezes may be argued to be inconclusive, but these occur so frequently in connexion with Buddhist remains, that until the contrary is shown by irrefragable evidence, they may very reasonably be accepted as a Bddhist peculiarity. General Cunningham, adverting to the Sāñchī rails, says : "The style is evidently characteristic and conventional, as it is found wherever the Bauddha religion prevails. It is in fact so peculiar to Buddhism, that I ventured to name it 'the Buddhist railing.'[45] This peculiar railing is still standing around the principal Tope at Sāñchī and Andher ; and some pillars and other fragments are still lying around the great Topes at Seoni and Satadharā. The same railing was placed around the holy bodhi trees,[46] and the pillars dedicated to Buddha.[47] The balconies of the city gates[48] and of the King's palace[49] were enclosed by it. It formed the bulworks of the State Barge.[50] It was used as an ornament for the capitols of columns, as on the northern pillars at Sāñchī,[51] and generally for every plain band of architectural moulding

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[44] Vide *infra* chapter II, on the boundary of Bhuvaneśvara,.

[45] "No less than nine specimens of this kind of railing were found amongst the Bhilsa Topes, all of which are described in the following pages. In Plate IX, fig 3, I have added a specimen from great Dipaldina Mound at Amarāvatī, for the description of which see Prinsep's *Journal*, Vol. VI, Plate X."

[46] "See coins, in plates XXXI and XXXII."

[47] "See plate XXXI, fig. I and Plate XXXII, fig. II "

[48] "Bas-relief at Sāñchī, Eastern Gateway, Plate XV, fig. 3."

[49] "Bas-relief of Eastern Gateway—Fergusson's Illustrations."

[50] "Bas-relief of Western Gateway, left Pillar, inner face, No. III."

[51] "See Plate X."

At Sāñchi, it is found in many places as an ornament on the horizontal bars which separate the bas-reliefs from each other."[52] Admitting, however, for the sake of argument that the rails do not afford as positive evidence as do Buddhist images, still they may be taken in conjuction with the other facts as strong collateral proof in favour of the Buddhism of the Udayagiri remains. It is likely that the Ananta Cave was the sanctuary or church of the congregation who dwelt in the caves of Udayagiri, and the latter as dwellings needed no separate images ; but it is also probable that the larger caves, like the Rānī Naur, Vaikuṇṭha, and Svargapuri, had their separate *lares* and penates in the form of statues which have been destroyed by the profane hands of the Hindu ascetics who have held possession of the caves for more than eleven centuries, seeing that Heouan-Thsang, in the middle of the seventh century, did not notice the place, and at least two centuries before the time of the Chinese traveller Bhuvaneśvara was the metropolis of the Hindu sovereigns of the Kesāri dynasty.[53]

Age of the caves :—Of all questions concerning Indian history dates are the most puzzling. Rarely are they recorded in the literature of the people, and tradition is at fault at almost every step. As a general rule it is necessary, therefore, to receive deductions on the subject with some reservation—for it has often happened that what has appeared very satisfactorily established by one set of data, has been entirely upset by another. If it is, however, impossible to fix precise dates in all cases, sufficient materials are not wanting to settle certain limits regarding [**40**] many. Such I believe is the case with several of the caves of Udayagiri, and one at least of Khaṇḍagiri. The Pāli character with which they are inscribed, leaves no room for doubt that they must have been excavated at an earlier date than the second century before Christ, for it is all but positively certain that that character had in the second century commenced to change, and was greatly modified in the first century before Christ ; and looking to the subject of the inscriptions recorded in that character on the caves, it is impossible to suspect a forgery, or a love for old customs, or affection for the antique, such as leads to the adoption of the old English character for inscriptions of the present century.

The next datum we have on the subject is the Hāthi Gumphā inscription, but this unfortunately is not so positive as the first, as it is in many respects defective, and people may well take exception to it for more reasons than one. If the arguments, however, on which I have attempted to prove the contemporaneity of Aira with the Nanda Rājās of Magadha be tenable, it would follow that the Elephant Cave was cut in the middle of the fourth century before Christ. Now as that cave is an unfinished one, and altogether so poor that it cannot shed any lustre on a great King even in the estimation of men in a primitive state of society and very few persons would take the trouble to inscribe, at considerable cost, the fact of his having excavated a den which would pass for a natural cavern, the like of which may be seen in many places, it would follow that the object was to record the execution of some caves more dignified and royal in their character than the one on which the document appears and that the location of the inscription was regulated by the desire to select the most centrical and prominent position for it. This is exactly the position which the Hāthi Gumphā occupies, with the Tiger, the Serpent, and the Urdhavāhu caves on the right, the Vaikuṇṭha and the Pātālpuri caves in front, the Svargapuri caves on the left, and the Ganeśa and the Rānī Gumphā caves behind ; and the inscription distinctly states that king Aira caused several caves to be cut. Uufortunately the caves are not named, and we cannot say for certain which are referred to in it. For a magnificent structure which would do credit to a king, and on which a sovereign might look with pride, the Rānī Gumphā must reckon the foremost ; next comes the Vaikuṇṭha ; next the Svargapuri ; and then the Ganeśa. Of these the second has three separate inscriptions, the first of which ascribes its excavation to "the kings of Kaliṅga," the second to "Vīra king of Kaliṅga," and the third to "Prince Vidukha," so it cannot belong to the hero immortalised on the Elephant Cave. The others are without any inscription, and these may be included in the list of Aira's works without any very great stretch of imagination. The relation of the Queen's Palace to the Eiephant Cave has been already referred to (p. [32]). Thus far then the principal caves may be assigned to the middle of the fourth century, from three hundred and twenty to three hundred and forty years before Christ ; and it is not of much consequence to enquire, who were the authors of the little dens which a monk anxious for a shelter could dig for himself in a day or two, without any preliminary training as a miner or mason.

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[52] *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 187.

[53] Mr. Fergusson adverting to the religion of the Udyagiri and the Khaṇḍagiri caves, observes : "On reviewing these caves and their sculptures, the first question that arises is, why are they called Buddhist ? The Aira of the great inscription seems to have oscillated between Brahmanism and Buddhism, and the other old inscriptions translated by Prinsep are Buddhist in form, though it can hardly be said they are so in doctrine ; and when we turn to the sculptures it is hard to find any traces of Buddhism in them. Budda himself nowhere appears either in his conventional form or as an

Adverting to the caves of Western India, Mr. Fergusson has developed a system of evolution, according to which the simplest of the caves are assigned to the earliest period and the most ornate to a comparatively recent date,—the whole spreading over many centuries. How far this is correct as regards those caves, it is not for me here to enquire, but I am not at all disposed to apply the principle to the caves which form the subject of my remarks. The principle is founded upon the experience of human habitations in civilized society, and cannot be applied to monasteries. Monastic

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ascetic. That we might expect from our experience at Sāñchī. But there are no Degobas, no Wheels, and only by the most careful inspection can we detect any of those Buddhist symbols we are now familiar with." Again, "it is, so far as I know, the only other place in India where Buddhism without Buddha is found in the same or even greater completeness than at Sāñchī." (*Tree and Serpent Worship*, 2nd Ed., pp. 268, 269). After what has been said above, it is not at all necessary to comment seriatim on these remarks. The oscillation of Aira between Buddhism and Brahmanism has already been shown to be due to a mistranslation by Prinsep, (*ante* p. [20]). The expectation of meeting with images in mounds which contain the relics of the founder of Buddhism, is unreasonable ; the proper places to look for images of the saint are temples and not solid mounds like the Sāñchī Tope. And the Buddha of the Ananta Cave is, I believe, enough to explode the theory of "Buddhism without Buddha" as regards the caves under notice.

institutions do not develop slowly and gradually, step by step, with the advancing civilization of their occupants, even as the ancient pile huts of Zurich, Brienne and Neufchatel developed into Swiss villas; but by fits and starts according to the nature of the patronage extended to them by civil society and the state of civilization of their patrons,—the monks themselves being the passive recipients of the bounty of their lay admirers, and the art displayed in their habitations dependant entirely on the taste of the artist employed and of their employers. A hermit of great sanctity, perhaps professing some supernatural or miraculous powers, takes shelter in a wood near a flourishing town, whence men of all classes proceed to visit him and offer him the means of his sustenance and more in lieu of his blessings; a wealthy person, perhaps a king or a minister, takes special interest in him, and defrays the cost of building a comfortable house for his use; his sanctity draws around him shoals of proselytes and followers, for whose accommodation additional buildings are required; other rich men defray the cost thereof; and a stately monastery is the result.

In the place of the hermit an image of a god, or a rude stone, or a grave, or a sacred relic, suddenly rising into repute for working miraclas, or for some other cause, produces the same effect. In the first fervour of devotion, wealth flows rapidly towards its endowment and embellishment, edifices rise over and round it, and a sacred place is completed. All this takes but a few short years, and the lifetime of a single generation is generally enough to effect the consummation. A different feeling next comes into play, that of respect for antiquity, which developes a strong spirit of conservatism, and its main objects are to give firmness to, and to perpetuate, existing customs, practices and observances, and to prevent changes and innovations. Devotion then leads to the erection of minor edifices around the principal building, in order to secure for them a share of the reflected sanctity of the original shrine. Hence it is—in India at least—that the richest and most elaborate shrines are the oldest, and the [41] temples and other structures around them are of comparatively recent dates. The merit of dedicating temples, ghats, chaityas, and the like in sacred places, is greatly extolled in the Śāstras, both Hindu and Buddhist, and every pilgrim erects one according to his means, and if he has not the wherewithal to build a temple or a chaitya, however humble, he satisfies his conscience by dedicating a fictile or stone model, ranging from two inches to three or four feet. Benares receives every year an accession of many scores of such temples, some of which are cubes of three or four feet with corresponding pinnacles, and the thousands of model chaityas in stone and baked clay which have been met with at Sāñchī, Buddhagayā, Sārnāth, and other places, owe their origin to the same cause.

That the caves of Udayagiri have come to existence under some such circumstances I have every reason to believe. Bhuvaneśvara, before the commencement of the Christian era, was a flourishing town, if not the capital, of Kaliṅga. Some Buddhist hermits of great repute, or a body of monks, must have come there for missionary purposes, and, prohibited to dwell in towns, taken their stand on the hill which was near enough to admit of their going frequently to the town on their missionary errand, and for begging alms, and yet sufficiently removed from civil society to keep them aloof from its contamination ; the Kaliṅga Rājās, who were noted for their devotion of Buddhism, helped them to excavate some large caves, and the monastery was complete. The little caves were, I imagine, subsequently dug by individual hermits for their respective accommodation or mortification—for the three or four feet cubic caves were undoubtedly made for the sake of undergoing some form of penance or other. If we assume that some of the missionaries first dug the small caves to display their sanctity or devotion to penance, by dwelling therein, it would follow, that they attracted the attention of the people,—for such a feat as passing night after night, say in meditation, within a cube of three feet would attract public attraction in India in a very short time,—and the wealthy among those who admired, or looked with veneration upon, such feats, would at once defray the cost of making large and commodious habitations for such saints and their followers. In either case the interval of time between the small and large caves would be limited and insignificant, and cannot be reckoned by centuries[54] ; there is nothing in them at any rate to support the theory of gradual development of taste and tact in in cave-cutting, for the larger caves are all of one class, and [42] belong to a single cycle. Their pillars are of the same pattern ; the pilasters are alike ; the carved bands over them have the same outline ; the Buddhist rails, either above or below the friezes, differ only in some being made of four and other of five bars ; the parapets, where they occur are alike ; and the general design differs so slightly as to be insignificant ; and in none of these features—and these are the principal features which mark the difference of style and age—can anything be found which would warrant the assumption that the caves belong to different ages, and were cut by men in different states of civilization, or possessed of art-education differing in other respects than in individual peculiarity.

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[54] The conclusions I have come to above are at variance with the results of Mr. Fergusson's latest researches on the subject as embodied in an appendix to the 2nd edition of his *Tree and Serpent Worship*. Although those results are indefinite, to a certain extent contradictory, and avowedly derived from insufficient data, still they are of importance as proceeding from a gentleman who has devoted much attention to the subject, and is deservedly, held in high respect, and it is necessary, therefore, to notice them in detail. After adverting to the character of the caves, he says, "Still these caves must have been excavated for some religious purposes ; we can hardly suppose they were the residences of laymen, and the only reasonable conclusion seems to be that they were early Buddhist, of a type coeval, or it may be even anterior to what we find at Sāñchī" (p. 268). Now Sāñchī is usually supposed to belong to the second century B.C., and so these caves, if they represent the Buddhism of that place, must belong to that century. This is, however, to a certain extent contradicted by a statement in which the learned author says : "The inscriptions on the snake and tiger caves prove them, from the form of their characters, to be not far removed from Aśoka's time" (p. 268). This would be the latter part of the third century B. C The remark, however, is followed by another statement in which the author comes to "the conclusion that some of the Yavana invaders mentioned above" (p. 173 of his work) "introduced Greek art into this remote corner some time, it may be, before or about the Christian era ; but that instead of becoming more delicate and refined as it did at Amarāvatī, it become here more vigorous and more local in its manifestations" (p. 269). If we allow a century for this transition or localization, the age of the Queen's Palace, to whice the remarks especially apply, would be the end of the first century of the Christian era, or in other words, the several caves took for their completion about three hundred years, from the latter part of the third century B. C. to that of the first century A. C. The arguments on which these three statements have been based are, however, not conclusive. The first statement is founded upon the supposed absence of Buddhist images in the caves as at Sāñchī, but the Buddha of the Ananta cave upsets the major, and the conclusion therefore is not sustainable. The sacond statement is based on the form of the characters on the Serpent and the Tiger Caves, but as the learned author has himself laid down the postulate that "on questions of this kind inscriptions shed but the faintest and most uncertain glimmer", he is not likely to lay much stress on it. The third statement owes its strength partly to the relation which the art displayed in the sculptures of the caves bears to Hellenic art, and partly to the style of the different caves. The sculptural test, as I have shown in the text, is entirely fanciful, and therefore, it may be dismissed as unworthy of consideration. The author himself is not much disposed te rely

Theory of Greek origin of Orissan architecture and sculptures :—Although the age assigned by me to the caves of Udayagiri, places them beyond the limits of Greek supremacy in India, still it is necessary, before making a few remarks on the state of architecture and sculpture in Orissa at the time the caves were bored, to enquire, for the sake of those who entertain a contrary opinion, what influence the invasion of India by Alexander the Great and the occupation of parts of the North-Western frontier by his successors for some time, had exerted on those arts in the province which forms the subject of this essay. In a preceding part of this work (Part I, Chap. I,pp. [13] *et. seq.*) I have already shown that the opinion adopted by some European antiquarians, that

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on it, for he admits that "sculpture in itself, is much more uncertain in its progress than architecture, and depends so much on local and individual and personal circumstances for its development that it would be almost impossible to decide this question if it stood alone" (p 269). He argues, however, that "it seems hardly doubtful that the architecture of the Gaṇeśa is earlier than that of the Rāj Rānī (? Queen's Palace) cave ; while the simplicity of its one-celled plan as compared with the many-celled two-storyed magnificence of the other is so marked, that it is impossible to mistake the progress between the two" (p. 296). The ground, however, is not firmer here than before. It is not a fact that the Gaṇeśa is a "one-called" cave. On referring to plate XXVII, the reader will perceive that it has two cells and a verandah. The Rānī Gumphā again is not really two-storeyed, but one-storyed, the so called upper storey resting on solid rock beyond the roof of the lower storey as at Svargapuri. As to the magnificence of the one and the simplicity of the other, doubtless there is considerable difference in the number of chambers and verandahs in the two sets of caves, but architecturally they are of no importance. The ground-plan of the Gaṇeśa is only repeated three times in the Queen's Palace, twice to form the two wings and once to form the western facade, with only such variations in the number and disposition of the rooms as circumstances required, but nothing to indicate any originality. Generally speaking, architectural details are the most important as tests regarding style, and relying on them, it is impossible to detect any difference that would justify our supposing the two sets of caves to belong to two different ages. As already stated in the text, they are all but indentically the same. The differences they exhibit are due to individual peculiarity, and not to age and style. It is the farthest from my intention to deny altogether the value of sculptures as tests of age, but I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that they yield too much elbow-room for speculation and are wanting in that certainty which dated inscriptions rightly tnterpreted, are calculated to afford. To persons gifted with that perfection of imagination which, could, like Dean Swift, "fill up a volume on a broomstick" the plasticity and elasticity of architectural and sculptural evidence may be welcome, but the stiffness of dated inscriptions is more agreeable to sober-minded ordinary mortals.

stone architecture was first taught the Indians by the Greeks is erroneous, and that stone architecture existed in the country from long anterior to the date of the Greek invasion and the Græco-Bactrian occupation of North-Western India, and what is true of India generally is *a fortiori* true of Orissa. It might be said, however, that even if the Greeks did not originate stone architecture in India, their taste and influence may have materially contributed to its advancement *pari passu* with the improvement of the plastic art, and since the temple records of Puri and tradition refer to frequent invasions of Orissa by Rakṭavāhu and other Yavanas at an early age, it may very reasonably be expected that architecture and sculpture there should bear more deeply impressed marks of Greek character on them than what are to be seen on similar works in other provinces of India. The first part of the second argument has to a certain extent been already met (*ante* I. p. [76]). The latter portion is based mainly on the indentification of the Yavanas of the Sanskrit writers with the people of Greece. This identification, however, I have elsewhere fully shown[55] is not of such a character as to justify our accepting it as an incontrovertible general premiss. In the tenth century especially, when the temple records of Orissa were first undertaken, the word Yavana had entirely lost its original signification, whatever that might have been when the word first came into currency, and was used as a generic term for all "outer barbarians" without any reference to their nationality, and the word therefore cannot be a guide to our tracing the race of Rakṭavāhu. Further, the records in question say that Rakṭavāhu came from the sea, and we are not aware of any Greek expedition by the sea which could reach Orissa by the Bay of Bengal, while it would be illogical to accept the nationality of the traditional adventurer to have been Greek on the strength of the records, and to reject the fact of his having come by the sea, in opposition to them, and to believe that he came to Orissa by land. Nor is it at all necessary to deny the substantial accuracy of the temple records in this particular. It is well known that Phœnician, Roman, Arab and Chinese traders, at different times frequented the Bay of Bengal from long before the Christian era down to the twelfth century, and among them there were many pirates; and that all those people were generally known by the name of Yavanas, and nothing is more probable than that some of those piratical cruisers had descended on the Orissan coast, and committed depredations in a manner so as to be worthy of prominent record.

But to pass from the inferential to innate evidence,—for if it can be shown that the architecture and sculptures of Orissa bear unmistakable marks of their Greek origin, all *a priori* arguments on the subject must be thrown away. The difficulties, however, which beset this branch of the enquiry are very great, and they have been multiplied by personal predilections, want of knowledge, fallacious logic and other causes to an extent which render attempts to overcome them almost hopeless. I nevertheless feel bound to note the salient points of the question in order that my readers may have it in a tangible form, and be enabled to draw thair own inferences.

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[55] *Journal, As. Soc.,* XLIII., pt. I, pp. 246 *et seq.*

As regards architecture, columns, cornices, and mouldings are, I believe, the principal features which determine the style of buildings in Europe, and in Grecian architecture they were the most remarkable. Now in Greek buildings the most prominent characteristics are their inimitable columns. These are entirely wanting in Udayagiri, where their place is occupied by heavy, square pillars, and in Khaṇḍagiri the only specimen available (*ante* p. [35]) is as unlike a Greek column as one column can be to another. In Greece, flat pilasters were extensively used ; so were they at Udayagiri ; but he would be a highly imaginative man who could spy in the pilasters and pillars shown on plate XXIV any reminiscence of Greek art. Cornices the caves have none which could be for a moment compared to Greek specimens of that member of **[43]** buildings. The pyramidal battlements and the horse-shoe dormer windows of the Udayagiri bas-reliefs were unknown to the builders of the Parthenon. Dormers form a peculier feature of mediæval European architecture, but were unknown to classical builders, and if this fact would justify our supposing the Udyagiri, Sāñchī, and Barāhat dormers, (or more strictly speaking, balconies, for they are not true dormers) to be due to the influence of Saxon builders, I shall gladly renounce my theory of their pre-Christian antiquity.

Of mouldings, the two *Cymas*, the *Cavetto*, the *Ovolo*, the *Torus*, the *Astragal* and the *Fillet*, which play so important a part in the decoration of classical architecture, the last two are all that exist in the caves of Udayagiri, and they are just the ornaments which are the most undecisive in their character. A line of beads and a narrow flat band to enclose them suggest themselves as ornaments with the smallest possible exertion of the inventive faculty, and they been adopted in all parts of the world without any necessary borrowing ; they form the most prominent and oft-repeated embellishment of the hafts of New Zealand hatchets. To lean on them for the determination of any important question of nationality would be to lean on something considerably weaker than the proverbial straw. A kind of guilloche occurs in the Ananta Cave, but as already stated before (*ante* I, p. [17]), it is quite as unreliable as the fillet or the astragal. Moreover, were all the mouldings abovenamed traceable in the caves of Udayagiri, they would be of little moment, for they are all very simple in their design, and it is only when they appear in those peculiar combinations which are so effective in classical buildings, that they can be accepted as proofs. If the combinations be not the same, they should at least be similar, and this, I hold, is nowhere the case.

In treating of sculptural representations of natural objects, it is necessary to bear in mind the common humanity of man in every part of the world. Even as poets dealing with the same subjects—the life and mind of man—produce similar images whether tuning their lyre under the heat of the tropics, the general climate of the temperate zone, or the biting cold of the north, so must artists in their attempt to reproduce natural objects in stone, yield similar results ; and as in the former case differences must arise from unequal capacity and local colouring, so must they result in the latter. Thus when a Vālmiki and a Homer sing of the same subject, local similies aside, the result must be closely alike, without any interchange of ideas taking place between them ; and similarly a Phidias of Greece and one of India, (had such a being ever existed) would have produced the beau-ideal of perfection in either country without borrowing from each other. Where the intellectual and artistic capacities are different, the results must necessarily be unequal; but the tendency everywhere must be to the same goal, and more or less similarity must be manifest according to circumstances, owing to the fact of the human mind being the same everywhere, and it being directed to the same end. It must follow that the mere partial similitude in the general appearance of two statues is no more a proof of the one having been formed on the model of the other, than the similarity of two love songs from two distant countries is an evidence of one of them having been copied from the other.

In judging of sculpture its general appearance is what we have first to deal with, but it is at the same time the most misleading. It is uncertain quantity, liable to be diversified under different circumstances and the knowledge and predilection of the observer, and what may be supposed by one to be decisively similar, may be pronounced by another as radically different in every line and feature. Doubtless, there is such a thing as style in painting and literary composition, which however ethereal and undefinable, is nevertheless easily perceptible by experts, and the same may be said of sculpture; but in the latter case the difficulty of determining it is so very excessive that it cannot be accepted as a satisfactory proof in settling any question at issue with reference to any particular piece of sculpture. There may be, in a statue a suavity of outline, or free treatment of the position of drapery, or general finish in chiselling,—peculiarities which are associated with Greek art,—but they are of no import when closely inspected; and when the enquiry is what is the nationality of a statue found in a foreign soil, it is a flagrant begging of the question to say it must be Greek because it is good. Among the generality of non-professional Europeans, the fallacy of such a decision may not be at once apparent, for in their minds the idea of excellence in art with Greece is intimately associated from infancy; and even with professional men it is not an uncommon error, says Bacon, "to infest their meditations, opinions, and doctrines, with some conceits which they have most admired, or some sciences which they have most applied"; and to give "all things else a tincture according to them, utterly untrue and improper"; but for all that the fallacy exists, and to those who are above such influences, cannot but be striking.

Relative proportions generally been accepted as very good tests for determining the nationality of human figures; but seeing that, on the one hand, the human frame is in its general outline very much alike in all parts of the world, and that, on the other, no two masters of the Hellenic art adopted the same relative proportions, and further, that they are subject to extensive variations according to age, sex, and other causes, not to advert to the fact that specimens of ancient Indian art are generally of so primitive a character that they are not amenable to technical rules, it is hopeless to deduce from [44] them any reliable evidence for a general premiss. There are certain peculiarities in proportion which if properly studied by experts,—such for instance as the breadth of the head along the eyes, which in Greece almost uniformly measured five eyes,—would doubtless be of value as collateral proofs, but they can under no circumstance be accepted as well-established majors for any universal conclusion.

But while denying general appearance and relative proportions to be of much value as tests, I must admit that there are points in sculptures which must be accepted as conclusive. These refer to the representation of local peculiarities in art, and their value depends upon the amont of certainty with which their local character is established. Thus, for instance, the disposition of the hair of the head, which differed greatly at different times among different nations, and which, whenever the styles and their ages are well-known, must at once determine the nationality of the figures on which they are found.

In the same way in well-finished statues the high cheek bones and other peculiarities of feature, as also drapery, may be accepted as good tests to that end. Posture or pose being generally dependant on the nature of action intended to be indicated, and human nature being everywhere alike and liable to produce the same or similar postures under similar circumstances, is not always a safe guide, still there are even in it peculiarities which when well-known may be depended upon.

But the most valuable tests are representations of local vegetation, local styles of ornament, local dress and the like. These can leave no roon for doubt, and when they do exist and their local character is fully established, we may with perfect safety come to a positive conclusion.

Now to apply these tests to the sculptures of Udayagiri. The general appearance of these sculptures is as unlike that of Greek art of the time of Alexander the Great and his successors for two centuries as that of one set of representations of human beings can be to that of another. I have studied them for hours together and often, but not a single feature of them has recalled to my mind that viyifying grace which forms the glory of Hellenic art of the post Phidian age. In their coarseness, they have some resemblance to the sculptures of the Dædalian school of art, but the resemblance even in that case is limited to coarseness only, the vigour and boldness of outline which characterised the latter, being entirely wanting in the former; and as it would be preposterous to suppose that teachers of the old Dædalian school ever came to Orissa, the equiry may be dropped as unprofitable.

Of relative proportion there is nothing in the Udayagiri bas-reliefs which could not result from the fact of their being representations of human beings, and therefore it may also be dismissed as unsatisfactory and inconclusive.

The hair of the head in the sculptures under notice, is dressed in large chignons or *maulis* just as one would expect in Indian figures, and not in curls, or flowing tresses, or close-cropped scrubbiness, as was common in Greek male figures in ancient times. The chignons of the Greek females were formed in a manner quite different from anything to be seen in Orissa. The features are generally so worm out that they cannot afford any satisfactory indication one way or another; but the noses are not Greek; the mouths are large and wide very unlike Greek, the eyes are too long and narrow, and the ears too long and pendulous, coming much below the line of the mouth, to be Greek; the posture is throughout Indian and not Greek; and the drapery, with two exceptions, is likewise thoroughly Indian. The exceptions I refer to are the clothes shewn on the booted figure of the Queen's Palace, and on the rider on the elephant and on his followers in the Gaṇeśa frieze. I call them exceptions because they are unlike the others shown at Udayagiri, but as I have already stated elsewhere (*ante* I, p. [82] and II, pp. [5], [10]) they are not Greek, nor anything approaching Greek clothing that I am aware of. Thus then there is no evidence whatever to show that the sculptures are Greek, or imitations of Greek art, and therefore I cannot but reject the theory of their Greek origin as quite untenable.[56] In fact, I believe, the theory owes its origin to the [45] difficulty which European writers feel in attributing to the natives of this country the capacity for carving such vigorous representations of human beings as these bas-reliefs show,—a difficulty by no means unaccountable, seeing that the Indians in the present day produce nothing of the kind, but which would at once disappear when we call to mind the fact of their subjugation for six centuries under ruthless masters who deemed it a religious duty of great merit to knock down or deface every representation of the human form they met with.

State of Sculpture and Architecture in Orissa, at the time the caves were cut:—But whether the fine arts of Orissa owe their origin to Greece or to India, this much is certain that they had attained considerable excellence at the time when the rock-cut dwellings of Udayagiri were excavated. The friezes we meet with there are not the results of first essays at sculpture,—mere outlines of a symbolical character,—but regular

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56. Mr. Fergusson is of opinion that the story of "the Gaṇeśa is the purer and the more nearly allied to Greek art. That in the Rāj Rānī, (? Rāni Naur) though fully as vigorous and full of life, is inferior in style and much more Indian in detail and costume"; and he comes to the "conclusion that some of the Yavana invaders mentioned above", (p. 173 of his work) "introduced Greek art into this remote corner some time, it may be, before or about the Christian era ; but that instead of becoming more delicate and refined, as it did at Amrāvatī, it became more vigorous and more local in its manifestations" (p. 269). Not wishing to rely upon my own judgment in a case in which so great an authority had expressed a decided opinion, I communicated the above extract to Mr. H. H. Locke of the Government School of Art, Calcutta, who had devoted his whole life to the study of art professionally and was the most competent to decide the question without any native or patriotic leaning, and I got the following in reply from him. "I cannot at all support the quotation which you send me from Fergusson. I do not perceive *any more* of 'Greek feeling' in the Gaṇeśa version of the fighting scene than in the Rānī Gumphā rendering. As to the Gaṇeśa carving being 'first Greek attempt' and the Rānī 'a degenerate local mainfestation of it' there is *absolutely nothing* in the carvings themselves to support such a notion. The Gaṇeśa carving (so far as can be judged of in its present very mutilated state) is rather the ruder of the two." Mr. Locke is much inclined to the Greek theory, i.e. to the recognition of Greek feeling in some of the sculptures of Khaṇḍagiri; nevertheless he so flatly contradicts Mr. Fergusson's opinion that it is hopeless for me to attempt a reconciliation. This much, however, I may say with perfect confidence that that evidence must be utterly. worthless which can even to experts yield such diametrically opposite results. For those who wish to think for themselves, I supply very faithful photo-collotypes of the two scenes in plates VIII and XVI.

works of art, rude though they be, evincing much technical knowledge and sufficient mastery to give shape to life and feeling. The expression of pain in the wounded soldier, of determination in the combatants, of despair in the captive led by the hand, of resignation and devotion in the imprisoned fair one, are in admirable contrast to the unnatural smile on the face of the victim whose neck is about to be cut in the metope of Silenos representing Perseus and Medusa, and other works of the early schools of Greece. If there is a want of finish and of fineness in chiselling in the Udayagiri works, there is no lack of vigorous action deilneated in every limb. Long ages of neglect and decay have defaced the figures as we now see them, but still it is not difficult to perceive that their conception, and execution, their grouping and disposition, their drapery and ornaments, were such as only men theoretically and practically familiar with sculpture for a long time could execute. Faces are shown in bas-relief in every position, full face, three-quarter face, and half-face, and in each the eyes are chiselled as they should be, and not done, as in ancient Egypt, in full on a profile face. The definite quantitative relations of the different members of the body are generally well preserved ; no inharmonious dimension offend the eye ; no poverty of lines disgusts the feeling ; no copying or imitative style betrays the symbolic stiffness and lifelessness of ancient Egypt and Persia ; every feature, every contour, every joint, bears the stamp of the independent workman exerting himself to produce pleasing combinations of grace and form, and to imitate nature to the best of his ability and not to copy lay figures, or to work out the theoretical canons of a bloated priestcraft. The artists were unquestionably rude ; their art had not attained that excellence which has been the glory of Hellenic race ; they doubtless lacked the genius which endows dead stones with vivid life ; but they thought for themselves, and worked for themselves, and were no servile copyists of a foreign art. The state of civil society at at the time, in Orissa, was sufficiently advanced to require works which could not have been produced in the condition we find them without a long course of previous training ; and this presupposes that the art had flourished for a considerable period before the middle of the fourth century B. C., when Aira reigned in Kaliṅga, and caused the rock-cut dwellings to be excavated.

That stone architecture was at that time also well-known and practised cannot for a moment be doubted. A complicated suit of rooms and verandahs wlth all their doors, openings, pillars, pilasters, mouldings, friezes and alto-rilievo figures like that of the Queen's Palace, could not have been cut into one mass of solid rock without the guidance of a master workman — an *architectona*, — who was familiar with buildings and their several details, ane who could conceive and develop his plan in his mind before commencing his work. Even as a novelist sketches in his mind the plot and denouement of his story before he puts pen on paper, so does a master-builder conceive his plan before he commences to put brick on morter even for an ordinary masonry building ; and though, like the novelist, who diversifies his story by descriptions and episodes not originally contempleted, he can, and does, add, embellish and modify while his work is progressing, he is still bound to carry out the broad outlines of his preliminary plan. He can add new pillars, new mouldings, new ornaments, wherever he is disposed to do so, but he can scarcely alter the size of the rooms after the foundations have been laid. Should, however, such an alteration be absolutely necessary, it can be effected with very little trouble. But the case is entirely different with the cave-cutter, who has to develop the whole out of a single mass of stone. He must, like the sculptor making a statue, have the perfect model before him, and must provide for every prominence, every protuberance and every detail, before he commences to work ; for the smallest mistake is apt to vitiate the whole. One single protuberance unprovided for will upset the entire scheme of ornamentation originally thought of [57]. Now, as all the pillars' pilasters, mouldings, bas-reliefs and statues of every cave at Udayagiri are cut out of one soiid mass without a single superimposition, it must follow that their architect did conceive the whole plan, and make models and drawings, before he employed his masons to cut the rock. And as no man can conceive anything absolutely new, and even the most imaginative can only develop new forms by new associations of those forms with which he is familiar, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the builders of the caves were familiar with masonry houses whose counterparts they attempted to produce in stone. Had the models been wooden houses or huts, their [**46**] peculiarities would for certain have been imitated in stone ; but they are all entirely wanting. The ceilings, instead of being sloping as they should have been if copied from huts, are flat, or so slightly arched that they may be called flat. The beams and rafters which form such prominent features in huts, are entirely wanting in the caves. The walls of the interiors are perfectly smooth and perpendicular without any indication of posts. The pyramidal parapets represent the same number as built on masonry houses, with ashlars of different lengths placed one over another, and are unknown in wooden houses. The Buddhist rails are copies of stone originals, thick, heavy and clumsy, and not of wooden fences, which would have been much lighter. The pillars have capitals which were practicable only in masonry work ; the pilasters with bases and capitals are such as could never have been required in huts ; the brackets projecting forward from the tops of the pillars and carved into female figures, could never have been required as constructive or mechanical contrivances for wooden buildings ; the projecting edges of the roofs have no indications of the ends of rafters such as cannot be avoided in wooden houses,—the only instance where they do occur under the arch over a door-frame in the Ananta Cave, being just where in a wooden building they would not be required (*Ante* II pp. [3], [32]). Pilasters are doubtless the reminiscences of posts ; but they had so long survived their original design at the time of the Udayagiri caves that the fact had been quite forgotten, and they were employed as mere architectural ornaments rising only to the top of the door-frame, and not up the whole height of the wall to the ceiling as posts did and should. These facts clearly prove that the caves have been formed on the style of mansonry buildings and not after wooden models or in other words that the master-mason or architect had in his mind the masonry buildings which existed around him when he designed these caves, and took his patterns from them, and not from huts. Under this conviction we may very reasonably conclude that square pillars with chamfered angles were in common use in those days, but columns were unknown or not used, the columns of the Jain Cave being evidently of a later date, as they stand on a masonry basement and not on the solid rock, or forming a part of it; that the doors were usually oblong and not narrowed at the top as was formerly the case in Egypt[58]; that they were framed with side pilasters surmounted with semicircular arches; that the mouldings in common use were flat bands with floral decorations; that the roofs were flat, as they always have been in India; that the parapets were of a pyramidal form; that in Buddhist buildings the peculiar Buddhist rail always found a prominent place; that the taste for splendour and art had sufficiently advanced to necessitate the employment of bas-reliefs in stone or terracotta, and most probably also of painting; that the houses were generally two-storeyed, and sometimes three storeyed as described in the *Ṛgveda* (*ante* I, p. [21]); that they had verandahs, and balconies attached to the upper storey; that the balconies were surmounted by horse shoe-shaped framings on the top; that dormer windows with similar tops were common; that the rooms were arranged in suites, but they were generally narrow, as they always have been since and still are; and that, on the whole, the houses were not the dwellings of rude, primitive people, but of men who had made considerable advance in the arts of civilized life.

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[57] A remarkable illustration of this remark occurs in the Gaṇeśa frieze, where the artist, having by mistake, cut the Buddhist rail above, instead of below, the frame of the second compartment, had to leave the whole unfinished (*ante* p. [6]).

Nilagiri:—Turning now to the third section of the Khaṇḍagiri Range, we have little to record beyond its being a continuation of the rocky wall which girts the town of Bhuvaneśvara on the west and the north-west. It stretches as far as the south-west of the town, and bears the same relation to it which the low hill to the west of Delhi does to that imperial city. Beyond a slight depression there is nothing to make its separation from Khaṇḍagiri, and in fact it is only a part of the latter, named separately only to limit the sanctity of the latter within a narrow compass. It does not rise anywhere above a hundred feet in height and possesses nothing worthy of note to the antiquarian—no temple or building of any age, size or sanctity, nor a single cave which owes its origin to the labour of man, and worthy of notice as a work of art.

Dhavalagiri: The last of the four hills which surround the town of Bhuvaneśvara to the north-west, west and south is called *Dhavalagiri* or the "White mountain," otherwise named *Dhauli*. Unlike the other three it is quite detached, and forms a cluster of its own, including three ranges with several depressions and prominences. It occurs on the south bank of the Dāyah river, close by the village of Dhauli, the origin of whose name will be explained further on. Lieutenant Markham Kittoe, who visited it in 1838, and first brought it to the notice of Europeans, says—That the three hills of which the group consists, "rise abruptly from the plains and occupy a space of about five furlongs by three; they have a singular appearance from their isolated position, no other hills being nearer than eight or ten miles.[59] They are apparently volcanic, and composed of upheaved breccia with quartzose rock intermixed.

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[58] The Daśaratha cave of Behar has the Egyptian door with a narrowed top, (*Ante* I. p. [17]).

"That northernmost hill may be about 250 feet at its highest or eastern end, on which is a ruined temple dedicated to Mahādeva: the other hills or rather rocks are less elevated.

[47] "Beneath the temple on the eastern and southern declivities are several small caves, and the remains of many more; also two natural caverns or clefts in the rock, one being choked up with rubbish, the other clear for eighty or a hundred feet, beyond which it is impossible to penetrate, the passage becoming very narrow and the stench of the myriads of bats (inhabiting it) quite suffocating. At the mouth of this cavern is an inscription slightly scratched on a detached block of stone. The inscription is roughly cut in a small cave on the southern face.

"There are traces of other buildings having formerly existed on this and the adjoining hills, also in the cavities between them; there is a fine temple dedicated to Gaṇeśa and Mahādeva at the western cave of the hill, also ruins of several others.

"Stone has been extensively quarried here for the different temples in the vicinity, and (I should venture to add) for Kanarak."[60] The south-eastern of the group bears the name of Aśvathāmā. It stands close by the famous tank called Kośala-gaṅgā, and is remarkable for bearing on it a series of edicts of the Great Emperor Aśoka, the ardent patron of Buddhism. The particular point of the hill which bears the edicts is situated "on the northern face of the southernmost rock near its summit; the rock has been hewn and polished for a space of fifteen feet long by ten in height, and the inscription deeply cut thereon being divided into four tablets, the first of which appears to have been executed at a different period from the rest; the letters are much larger and not so well cut. The fourth tablet is encircled by a deep line, and is cut with more care than either of the others.

"Immediately above the inscription is a terrace sixteen feet by fourteen, on the right side of which (as you face the inscription) is the fore half of an elephant,[61] four feet high, of superior workmanship; the whole is hewn out of the solid rock. There is a groove four inches wide by two in depth round three sides of the terrace, with a space of three feet left (a doorway ?) immediately in front of the elephant; there are also two grooves, one on either side of the elephant on the floor and in the perpendicular face, these must have been intended probably to fix a wooden canopy.

"There are also many broken caves in the rocks adjoining the Aśvathāmā, and the foundations of many buildings; one in particular immediately above the inscription which may have been one of the *chaityas* or *stūpas* mentioned in the inscription.

"The elephant does not seem to be an object of worship, though I was informed that one day in every year is appointed, when the Brāhmaṇs of the temples in the vicinity attend, and throw water on it, and besmear it with red-lead in honour of Gaṇeśa.

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[59] This is a mistake, the extreme end of Nilagiri cannot be more than three miles away.

[60] *Journal, As. Soc.* VII. pp. 436 f.

[61] *Ibid.* plate XXV.

"There are five caves in a row on the high rock south of the elephant, called by some 'Pañch-pāṇḍava' and by others 'Pañch-gosain' : beside these caves (where there are traces of many others) there are numerous small holes like mortars, cut in the rock ; these were probably used to compound the drugs and medicines by the medical devotees mentioned in the inscriptions. Like cavities occur at the Caves of Khaṇḍagiri ; some larger than the rest have been used as reservoirs."[62]

The edicts are the same which occur at Girnār, on the Lāṭs, and in the Eusophzai country, but they are preceded by an ordinance and followed by another whose counterparts do not occur elsewhere. The edicts have been so fully commented upon by Prinsep and Wilson, that I need not dwell upon them at all, particularly as I have not had an opportunity af taking a fresh facsimile, or collecting any information that would be worthy of special notice. Those who are interested in the subject will find ample materials for study in the *Journals of the Asiatic Societies of Bengal and Great Britain.* To render this notice of the hill complete, I shall content myself by quoting here the translations of the edicts by Wilson and Prinsep.

THE DHAULI EDICTS AF ASOKA.

Dr. Wilson's Translation.

Edict, No. I :—"This is the edict of the beloved of the gods, Rājā Priyadasi ; the putting to death of animals is to be entirely discontinued, and no convivial meeting is to be held, for the beloved of the gods, the Rājā Priyadasi, remarks many faults **[47]** in such assemblies. There is but one assembly, indeed, which is approved of by the Rājā Priyadasi, the beloved of the gods, which is that of the great kitchen of Rājā Priyadasi, the beloved of the gods ; every day hundreds of thousands of animals have been slaughtered for virtuous purposes, but now although this pious edict is proclaimed that animals may be killed for good purposes, and such is the practice, yet as the practice is not determined, these presents are proclaimed that hereafter they shall not be killed."

Edict No. II :—"In all the subjugated (territories) of the king Priyadasi, the beloved of the gods, and also in the bordering countries, as (Choda), Palaya (or Paraya), Satyaputra, Keralaputra, Tambapani, (it is proclaimed), and Antiochus by name, the Yona (or Yavana) Rājā, and those princes who are near to (or alied with) that monarch, universally (are apprised) that (two designs have been cherished by Priyadasi : one design) regarding men, and one relating to animals ; and whatever herbs are useful to men or useful to animals, wherever there are none, such have been everywhere caused to be conveyed and planted, (and roots and fruits wherever there are none, such have been everywhere conveyed and planted ; and on the roads) wells have been caused to be dug, (and trees have been planted) for the respective enjoyment of animals and men."

Edict No. III :—"King Priyadasi, This was ordered by me when I had been twelve years inaugurated in the conquered country, and among my own subjects as well as strangers, that every five years' expiation should be undergone with this object, for the enforcement of such moral obligations as were declared by me to be good; such as duty to parents, (and protection of) friends, children, (relations, Brahmans and Sramans); good is liberality, good is non-injury of living creatures, and abstinence from prodigality and slander are good. Continuance in this course, (the discharge of these duties) shall be commanded both by explanation and example."

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[62] *Journal, As. Soc.* VII. p. 435.

Edict No. IV :—"During a past period of many centuries, there have prevailed destruction of life, injury of living beings, disrespect towards kindred, and irreverence towards Sramans [49] and Brahmans. But now, in conformity to moral duty, the pious proclamation of king Priyadasi, the beloved of the gods, is made by best of drum, in a manner never before performed for hundreds of years, with chariot and elephant processions, and fireworks, and other divine displays of the people exhibiting the ceremonies—(and this) for the promulgation of the law of king Priyadasi, &c, that non-destruction of life, non-injury to living beings, respect to relations, reverence of Brahmans and Sramans, and many other duties, do increase, and shall increase, and this moral law of the king Priyadasi, the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons, of king Priyadasi shall maintain. Let the moral ordinance of king Priyadasi be stable as a mountain for the establishment of duty, for in these actions duty will be followed, as the law which directs ceremonial rites is not the observance of moral duties It were well for every ill-conducted person to be attentive to the object of the injunction. This is the edict (writing) of king Priyadasi. Let not any thought be entertained by the subject people of opposing the edict. This has been caused to be written by the king Priyadasi, in the twelfth year of his inauguration."

Edict No. V :—"The beloved of the gods king Priyadasi thus proclaims: whoever perverts good to evil will derive evil from good, therefore much good has been done by me, and my sons, and grandsons, and others (will) conform to it for every age. So they who shall imitate them shall enjoy happiness, and those who cause the path to be abandoned shall suffer misfortune. The chief ministers of morality have for an unprecedently long time been tolerant of iniquity, therefore in the tenth year of the inauguration have ministers of morality been made, who are appointed for the purpose of presiding over morals among persons of all the religions for the sake of the augmentation of virtue, and for the happiness of the virtuous among the people of Kamboja, Gandhara, Naristaka, and Pitenika. They shall also be spread among the warriors, the Brahmans, the mendicants, the destitute, and others without any obstruction, for the happiness of the well-disposed in order to loosen the bonds of those who are bound, and liberate those who are confined, through the means of holy wisdom disseminated by [50] pious teachers, and they will proceed to the outer cities and fastnesses of my brother and sister, and wherever are any other of my kindred: and the ministers of morals, those who are appointed as superintendents of morals, shall, wherever the moral law is established, give encouragement to the charitable and those addicted to virtue. With this intent this edict is written, and let my people obey it."

Edict No. VI :—"The beloved of the gods, king Priyadasi, thus declares :—'An unprecedentedly long time has past since it has been the custom at all times, and in all affairs, to submit representations. Now it is established by me that whether at meals, in my palace, in the interior apartments, in discourse, in exchange of civility, in gardens, the officers appointed to make reports shall convey to me the objects of the people. I will always attend to the objects of the people, and whatever I declare verbally, whether punishment or reward, is further intrusted to the supervisors of morals (or eminent persons),—for that purpose let those who reside in the immediate vicinage even become informers at all times, and in all places, so it is ordained by me. The distribution of wealth which is to be made is designed by me for the benefit of all the world, for the distribution of wealth is the root of virtues. There is nothing more essential to the good of the world for which I am always labouring. Of the many being over whom I rule, I confer happiness in this world—in the next they may obtain Swarga. With this view, this moral edict has been written ; may it long endure, and may my sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons after me, continue with still greater exertion to labour for universal good'."

Edict No. VII :—"The beloved of the gods, the Rājā Priyadasi, desires that all unbelievers may everywhere dwell (unmolested) as they also wish for moral restraint and purity of disposition. For men are of various purposes and various desires, and they do injury to all or only to a part. Although, however, there should not be moral restraint or purity of disposition in [51] any one, yet whenever there is great liberality (or charity), gratitude will acknowledge merit even in those who were before that reputed vile."

Edict No. VIII :—"In past times Kings were addicted to travelling about, to companions, to going abroad, to hunting and similar amusements, but Priyadasi, the beloved of the gods, having been ten years inaugurated, by him easily awakened, that moral festival is adopted, (which consists) in seeing and bestowing gifts on Brahmanas and Sramanas, in seeing and giving gold to elders, and overseeing the country and the people ; the institution of moral laws and the investigation of morals ; such are the devices for the removal of apprehension, and such are the different pursuits of the favourite of the gods, king Priyadasi."

Edict No. IX :—"The beloved of the gods, Priyadasi Rājā, thus says : every man that is, celebrates various occasions of festivity ; as on the removal of incumbrances, on invitations, on marriages, on the birth of a son, or on setting forth on a journey ; on these and other occasions a man makes various rejoicings. The benevolent man, also, celebrates many and various kinds of pure and disinterrested festivities, and such rejoicing is to be practised. Such festivities are fruitless and vain, but the festivity that bears great fruits, is the festival of duty, such as the respect of the servant to his master ; reverence for holy teachers is good, tenderness for living creatures is good, liberality to Brahmans and Sramans is good. These and other such acts constitute verily the festival of duty, and it is to be cherished as father by a son, a dependant by his master. This is good, this is the festival to be observed, for the establishment of this object virtuous donations are made, for there is no such donation or benevolence as the gift of duty, or the benevolence of duty, that(benevolence) is chaff, (which is contracted) with friend, companion, a kinsman, or an associate, and is to be reprehended. In such and such manner this is to be done, this is good ; with these means let a man seek Swarga ; this is to be done, by these means it is to be done, as by them Swarga has been gained."

[52] Edict No. X :—"The beloved of the gods, the Prince Piyadasi does not esteem glory and fame as a great value, and besides for a long time it has been my fame and that of my people, that the observance of moral duty and the service of the virtuous should be practised, for this is to be done. This is the fame that the beloved of the gods, desires, and inasmuch as the beloved of the gods excels, (he holds) all such reputation as no real reputation, but such as may be that of the unrighteous, pain and chaff ; for it may be acquired by crafty and unworthy persons, and by whatever further effort it is acquired, it is worthless and a source of pain."

Mr. Princep's Translation

Edict No. I :—"The following edict of religion is promulgated by the heaven-beloved king Priyadasi : In this place the putting to death of anything whatever that hath life, either for the benefit of the *pūjā*, or in convivial meetings, shall not be [48] done. Much cruelty of this nature occurs in such assemblies. The heaven-beloved king Piyadasi is (as it were) a father (to his people). Uniformity of worship is wise and proper for the congregation of the heaven-beloved Piyadasi rājā.

"Formerly in the great refectory and temple of the heaven-beloved king Piyadasi, daily were many hundred thousand animals sacrificed for the sake of meat food. So even at this day while this religious edict is under promulgation, from the sacrifice of animals for the sake of food, some two are killed, or one is killed :—but now the joyful chorus resounds again and again—that from henceforward not a single animal shall be put to death."

Edict No. II :—"Everywhere within the conquered province of rājā Piyadasi, the beloved of the gods, as well as in the parts occupied by the faithful, such as Chola, Pīda, Satiyaputra, Keralaputra, even as far as Tambapanni (Ceylon) ; and moreover within the dominions of Antiochus, the Greek, (of which Antiochus' generals are the rulers),—everywhere the heaven-beloved rājā Piyadasi's double system of medical aid is established ; —both medical aid for men, and medical aid for animals ; together with the medicaments of all sorts which are suitable for men, and suitable for animals. And wherever there is not (such provision)—in all such places they are to be prepared, and to be planted : both root drugs and herbs, wheresoever there is not (a provision of them) in all such places shall they be deposited and planted.

"And in the public highways wells are to be dug, and trees to be planted, for the accommodation of men and animals."

Edict No. III :—"Thus spake the heaven-beloved king Piyadasi :

"By me after the twelfth year of my anointment, this commandment is made !

Everywhere in the conquered (provinces) among the faithful, whether (my own) subjects or foreigners, after every five years, let there be (a public) humiliation for this express object, yea, for the confirmation of virtue and for the suppression of disgraceful acts.

"Good and proper is dutiful service to mother and father ;—towards friends and kinsfolks, towards Brahmans and Sramans excellent is charity ;—prodigality and malicious slander are not good.

"All this the leader of the congregation shall inculcate to the assembly, with (appropriate) explanation and example."

Edict No. IV :—"In times past, even for many hundred years, has been practised the sacrifice of living beings, the slaughter of animals, disregard of relations ; and disrespect towards Brahmans [**49**] and Sramans :—This day, by the messenger of the religion of the heaven-beloved king Priyadasi, (has been made) a proclamation by beat of drum, a grand announcement of religious grace, and a display of equipages, and a parade of elephants, and things to gratify the senses, and every other kind of heavenly object for the admiration of mankind, such as had never been for many hundred years such as were to-day exhibited.

"By the religious ordinance of the heaven-beloved king Priyadasi, the non-sacrifice of animals, the non-destruction of living beings, proper regard to kindred, respect to Brahmans and Sramans, dutiful service to father and mother, dutiful service to spiritual pastors :—through these and many other similar (good acts) doth religious grace abound ; and thus moreover shall the heaven-beloved king Priyadasi cause religion to flourish : and the same shall the sons, the grandsons, and the great-grandsons of the heaven-beloved king Priyadasi cause to abound exceedingly

"As long as the mountains shall endure, so long in virtue, and in strict observances shall the religion stand fast. And though good acts of this nature, that is to say, —through these ordinances, and the strict practice of religion, laxness of discipline is obviated. Moreover in this object, it is proper to be intelligent, and no wise neglected. For the same purpose is this (edict) ordered to be written. Let all take heed to profit of this good object, and not to give utterance to objections.

"By the heaven-beloved king Priyadasi, after the twelfth year of his anointment is this caused to be written."

Edict No. V :—"Thus spake the heaven-beloved king Piyadasi :—

"Prosperity (cometh) through adversity, and truly each man (to obtain) prosperity causeth himself present difficulty—therefore by me (nevertheless) has much prosperity been brought about, and therefore shall my sons, and my grandsons, and my latest posterity, as long as the very hills endure, pursue the same conduct ; and so shall each meet his reward ! While he, on the other hand, who shall neglect such conduct,—shall meet his punishment in the midst of the wicked [in the nethermost regions of hell].

"For a very long period of time there have been no ministers of religion properly so called. By myself, then, in this tenth year of mine anointment, are ministers of religion appointed ; who intermingling among all unbelievers (may overwhelm them) with the inundation of religion, and with the abundance of the sacred doctrines. Through Kām (*bocha*, Gan), *dhāra*, *narāstika*, Petenika, and elsewhere finding their way into the uttermost limits of the barbarian countries, for the benefit and pleasure of (all classes) . . . . and for restraining [**50**] the passions of the faithful, and for the regeneration of those bound in the fetters (of sin ?). . . . are they appointed. Intermingling equally among the dreaded, and among the respected—both in *Pātaliputa* and in foreign places, teaching better things shall they everywhere penetrate ; so that they even who (oppose the faith shall at length become) ministers of it."

Edict No. VI :—"Thus spake Piyadasi, the heaven-beloved king !

"Never was there in any former period, a system of instruction applicable to every season, and to every action, such as that which is now established by me.

"For every season, for behaviour during meals, during repose, in domestic relations, in the nursery, in conversation, in general deportment, and on the bed of death, everywhere instructors (or *Pativedakas*) have been appointed. Accordingly do ye (instructors) deliver instruction in what concerneth my people.

"And everywhere in what concerneth my people do I myself perform whatsoever with my mouth I enjoin (unto them) ; whether it be by me (esteemed) disagreeable, or whether agreeable. Moreover, for their better welfare among them, an awarder of punishment is duly installed. On this account, assembling together those who are dwelling in the reputation of much wisdom, do ye meanwhile instruct them as to the substance of what is hereby ordained by me for all circumstances, and for all seasons. This is not done by me in any desire for the collection of worldly gain but in the real intention that the benefit of my people shall be effected, whereof moreover, this is the root, the good foundation, and the steady repose in all circumstances : there is not a more effectual mode of benefitting all mankind than this on which I bestow my whole labour.

"But upon how many living beings (I will pass over the mention of other things) do I confer happiness here :—hereafter likewise let them hope ardently for heaven ! Amen !

"For this reason has the present religious edict been written :—May it endure for evermore ; and so may my sons, and my grandsons, and my great-grandsons uphold the same for the profit of all the world, and labour therein with the most reverential exertion."

Edict No. VII :—"The heaven-beloved King Piyadasi everywhere ardently desireth that all unbelievers may be brought to repentance and peace of mind. He is anxious that every diversity of opinion, and every diversity of passion may shine forth blended into one system, and be conspicuous in undistinguishing charity ! Unto no one can be repentance [**51**] and peace of mind until he hath attained supreme knowledge, perfect faith which surmounteth all obstacles, and perpetual assent."

Edict No. VIII :—"In ancient times festivals for the amusement of sovereigns consisted of gambling, hunting the deer (or antelope), and other exhilarating pleasures of the same nature. But the heaven-beloved king Piyadasi, having attained the tenth year of his anointment, for the happiness of the wise hath a festival of religion (been substituted) :—and this same consists in visits to Brahmans and Sramans, and in alms-giving; and in visits to the reverend and aged; and the liberal distribution of gold, the contemplation of the Universe and its inhabitants, obeying the precepts of religion, and settling religion before all other things, are expedients (he employs for amusement), and these will become an enjoyment without alloy to the heaven-beloved king Piyadasi in another existence."

Edict No IX :—"Thus spake king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods!

'Each individual seeketh his own happiness in a diversity of ways: in the bonds of affection, in marriage, or otherwise, in the reading,—in the rearing of offspring,—in foreign travel :—in these and other similar objects, doth man provide happiness of every degree. But there is great ruination, excessive of all kinds when (a man) maketh worldly objects his happiness. On the contrary, this is what is to be done,—(for most certainly that species of happiness is a fruitless happiness)—to obtain the happiness which yieldeth plentiful fruit, even the happiness of virtue; that is to say :—kindness to dependants, reverence to spiritual teachers are proper; humanity to animals is proper: all these acts and others of the same kind, are to be rightly denominated the happiness of virtue!

"By father, and by son, and by brother; by master, (and by servant) it is proper that these things should be entitled happiness. And further, for the more complete attainment of this object, secret charity is most suitable :—yea, there is no alms, and no loving-kindness comparable with the alms of religion, and the loving-kindness of religion, which ought verily to be upheld alike by the friend, by the good-hearted; by kinsman and neighbour, in the entire fulfilment of pleasing duties.

"This is what is to be done : this is what is good. With those things let each man propitiate heaven. And how much ought (not) to be done in order to the propitiation of heaven?"

[52] Edict No. X :—"The heaven-beloved king Piyadasi doth not deem that glory and reputation (are) the things of chief importance; on the contrary (only for the prevention of sin) and for enforcing conformity among a people praiseworthy for following the four rules of virtue, and pious, doth the heaven-beloved king Piyadasi desire glory and reputation in this world, and whatsoever the heaven-beloved king Piyadasi chiefly displayeth heroism in obtaining, that is all (connected with) the other world.

"For in everything connected with his immortality, there is as regards mortal things in general discredit. Let this be discriminated with encouragement or with abandonment, with honour, or with the most respectful force, and every difficulty connected with futurity shall with equal reverence be vanquished."[63]

Edict No. XI :— "This religious edict is caused to be written by the heaven-beloved King Piyadasi. It is (partly) (written) with abridgment; it is (partly) with ordinary extent; and it is (partly) with amplification : not incoherent (or disjointed), but throughout continuous (and united) it is powerful in overcoming the wise; and it is much written and caused to be written, yet it is always but the same thing repeated over and over again. For the persuasive eloquence which is lavished on each separate subject shall man the rather render obedience thereunto !

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[63] *Journal, Royal As. Soc.* XXIII. pp. 163 et seq.

"Furthermore, at one time even unto the conclusion is this written, incomparable in manner, and conformable with the copy, by RELACHEPU, the scribe and pandit."[64]

The last edict corresponds with the No. 14 of Girnār and Kapur di Girī, there being no counterparts of Nos. XI to XIII of those places at Dhauli.

The above edicts occupy the centre of the scarpment, right in front of the figure of the elephant, in two columns marked by perpendicular lines as described by Major Kittoe, the beginning of each separate edict being indicated by a dash. On the sides of the compartments a framing formed by the lines occur the two separate inscriptions, the first on the left hand side, and the other on the right. These latter are incised in larger letters, and are obviously of a different and subsequent age. The eleventh edict brings the series to a conclusion, and what follows must be posterior. They are also "totally distinct from the general style of Aśoka's religious edicts." Instead of opening with the usual formula of "thus spake Piyadasi," they appeal to the "command of the beloved of the gods" : *devānām piyasa vacanena*, which, says Prinsep, "seems to denote that the proclamation was issued by some functionary under the royal authority." The same peculiar opening occurs in the short supplementary inscription on the Allahabad pillar, but while that was addressed to the ministry in general, both of the present are confined to the immediate residents in the district—one being worded, "the ministers or officers, enjoying the city in (the province of) Tosalī",—or it may be "attached to the city *Vihāra*—are to be informed" ;—the other to the Prince and the great officers of Tosalī. In both these cases the gerund is in the neuter, but probably the inflections have been omitted in the copying."[65] The omission of the name of the Prince in the first tablet and the inclusion of it in the [53] last has been accounted for by Prinsep on the supposition that "the Prince had been, in the former instance, too young to be regared, and his chief officers had been the *nagala nehālaka*, as we should say, 'in charge of the town'."

The edicts were of general interest as they concerned the whole Buddhist community of India to whom they were addressed. But the purport of the separate proclamations was entirely local, and bore only the inhabitants of the town where they were promulgated. The locale was Tosalī, which occurs in Ptolemy's tables as the city of *Tosale*. Wilford takes it to be the same with the *Tosala Kosalaka* on the authority of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, and that, in the *Vārāhi Saṃhitā*, is held to be the same with *Kośalaka* or Kośala, which the Purāṇas place "behind the Vindhya mountains," even as Ptolemy has *Tosale metropoles* "on the other side of the Ganges",[66] somewhere "near the mountains inhabited by the *Nangologe*", which Prinsep imagines to be "the

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[64] *Journal, As. Soc. B.* VII. p. 262

[65] *Journal, As. Soc.* VII. p. 448

[66] *Ptolemy's Geog.* XI plate, India extra Gangem.

Nāgas or *Nāgaloka* of the eastern mountains."[67] This identification is scarcely admissible. The locale we have to look for should be in the neighbourhood of the rock on which the inscription occurs, and not in the eastern mountains. We know for certain that at one time the Nāgas lived in different parts of India, and were not confined, as at present, to the east of Bengal. It is certain too that the Kośala here meant is not the Province noticed in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, as the kingdom of the hero of that epic. That Tosalī is the same with Kośala is very probable, as in an inscription of Yajāti Keśarī of the 5th century, we find a place near Cuttack named *Dakṣiṇa Kośala* or South Kośala, which we may fairly assume to be the locale named.

The object of the first ordinance is threefold ; *first*, to order punishment of murder to be imprisonment ; *second*, to enjoin the reading of the ordinance in the month of Bhādra when the moon is in the constellation Tisya,—the same time when the Jain scriptures are now usually read as an act of great religious merit ; and *third*, the ordination of a quinquennial humiliation, the counterpart of which still prevals in many Buddhist countries. The *stupha* or tope near which the reading is ordained is named *Anusatha Tupa* or *Kālānta Tupa*, the site of which has not yet been identified. The first part of the last ordinance is full of lacunæ, and its purport cannot be well defined. In the latter part it proclaims that a *stupha* is consecrated under the name of *Dubalabi*, for the promotion of "undisturbed meditation and for securing every blessing and happiness as to the concerns of this world and the world beyond." The spot where the ordinance is inscribed is directed to be named *Mahāmata svāsatam*, or "the place of meditation of officers". The ordinance is ordered to be publicly read out twice every year ; once in the month of Bhādra, and again at the close of Phālguṇa, on both occasions when the moon is in the constellation Tisya. In the present day the two periods mentioned are held sacred by the Jains.

The site of the last-named *stupha*, Prinsep identifies with the modern village of Dhauli, where Major Kittoe noticed the remains of ancient buildings and relics which fully justifies the identification. That Dubalabi is a corruption of Sanskrit *Durbala* may be readily accepted. It is of course the same with the modern Hindi *Dublā*. In the Prakrit language medial single consonants generally wear out, leaving only its attached vowel in its place, and the *Dubala* of the Pali would thus become *Du-ala*, in the feminine from *Duali*, whence *Dhauli*. The name of the tope was thus the "shrine of the feeble" :— "Probably a kind of hospital, and if Mr. Kittoe's conjectures as to the small mortars be correct, it must have been amply provided with medicamentary concoction."

The second name *Mahāmata svāsatam* was "apparently given to one of the Caityas, or perhaps to the platform of the elephant situated just above the inscription," and it means "the place of breathing, or of quiet repose for the priests." An open terrace on the top of a hill near a religious edifice could not have a more appropriate name. The name is now preserved in that of the rock *Asvastāma*, the more reformed Sanskrit form *Aśvatthāmā* bringing it into relation with one of the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*, being the result of Brahmanical manipulations.

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[67] *Journal, As. Soc.* VII, p. 448

Translation of the first separate Tablet.

"By command of Devanampiya (the beloved of the gods)! In (the city of) Tosali, the public officers in charge of the town are to be enjoined (as follows) :—

"Whomsoever I ascertain to be a murderer, him I desire to be imprisoned. This I publicly proclaim, and I will carry it into effect however difficult: for this my supreme will is irresistible! On this account the present tope (*stūpa*) (is denominated) the tope of commandment.

"From amongst many thousand souls, oh ye my chosen people! repair ye (hither) to the holy men. Every righteous man is my (true) subject, and for my subjects I desire this only, that they may be possessed of every benefit and happiness as to things of this world and of the world beyond .... and furthermore I desire ye do not purify the wicked until ......

[**54**] "In this country and not anywhere else is to be seen such a *stūpa* (?) in which are provided proper rules of moral conduct. When one man relieves (his fellow-creature) from the bondage and misery (of sin), it necessarily follows that he himself is released from bondage; but again despairing at the number of human beings in the same state (whom he is unable to relieve) he is much troubled. Thence is this *stūpa* so desirable (as an asylum ?); that in the midst of virtuous regulations we may pursue our obedient course!

"And through these classes (of deeds) are people rendered disobedient—viz. by enviousness, by the practice of destroying life, by tyranny, by cruelty, by idleness, by laziness, by waste of time. That morality is to be desired which is based on my ordinances (?) and in all these the roots (or leading principles) are,—the non-destruction of life, and the non-infliction of cruelty. May the desire of such moral guidance endure unto the end of time! and may these (principles), continuing to rise (in estimation), ever flourish; and inasmuch as this benefit and love should be ever had in remembrance, my desire is that in this very manner, these (ordinances) shall be pronounced aloud by the person appointed to the *stūpa*; and adverting to nothing else but precisely according to the commandment of Devanampiya, let him (further) declare and explain them.

"Much longing after the things (this life) is a disobedience, I again declare: not less so is the laborious ambition of dominion by a prince, (who would be) a proprietor of heaven. Confess and believe in God who is the worthy object of obedience!—for equal to this (belief), I declare unto you, ye shall not find such a means of propitiating heaven. Oh strive ye to obtain this inestimable treasure!

"And this edict is to be read at (the time of) the lunar mansion Tisa, at the end of the month of Bhātun: it is to be made heard (even if) by a single (listener). And thus (has been founded) the Kālānta *stūpa* for the spiritual instruction of the congregation. For this reason is this edict here inscribed, whereby the inhabitants of the town may be guided in their devotions for ages to come—and as of the people insensibly the divine knowledge and insensibly the (good works) increase, so the god of passion no longer yieldeth them gratification (?).

"For this reason also I shall cause to be, every five years, a general *nikhaina*, (or act of humiliation ?) (on which occasions) the slaughter (of no animal of any kind ?) shall take place. Having learnt this object, it shall be so carried into effect according to my commandment.

"And the young prince of Ujein, for the same purpose shall cause a religious observance of the self-same custom : and he shall not allow any transgression of this custom for the space of three years—so that when .... functionaries have admitted to initiation the penitent, then should any not leave off his (evil) practices—if even there be hundreds (in the same predicament) it shall be certainly done unto him according to the commandment of the Rājā."[68]

Translation of the last separate Tablet.

"By command of Devanampiya ! It shall be signified to the prince and the great officers in the city of Tosale.

"Whomsoever I ascertain to be ...... and this my supreme will is irresistible ! On this account is the present *stūpa* .... and for my loving subjects do I ardently desire to this effect :—that they may be filled with every species of blessing and happiness both as to the things of this world beyond ! .... may be. Of countless things as yet unknown .... I ardently desire .... they may partake ! Thus hath said Devanampiya .... may repose .... and take pleasure while the removed of affliction is in like manner the chief consequence of true devotion. (?) Devanampiya hath also said :—"fame (consisteth in) this act, to meditate with devotion on my motives, and on my deeds (of virtue) : and to pray for blessings in this world and the world to come. For this purpose do I appoint another [?] *stūpa*—by the which I cause to be respected that which is [above] directed and proclaimed. And my promise is imperishable ! However bitter [or hard], it shall be carried into effect by me, and consolation [will accrue to him who obeys ?] by which is exceeding virtue—so be it.

"Like as love itself so is Devanampiya worthy of respect ! and as the soul itself so is the unrelaxing guidance of Devanampiya worthy of respect ! and according to [the conduct of] the subject, so is the compassion of Devanampiya : wherefore I myself, to accomplish his commands, will become the slave and hireling of Devanampiya For this reason the Dubalabi tupha [is instituted] for undisturbed meditation, and for [securing every] blessing and happiness as to the concerns of this world and of the world beyond ! And thus to the end of time [is this] tupha for the propitiation of heaven.

"Accordingly strive ye to accomplish each and all of my desires ! For this object is this edict here inscribed, whereby [the spot] shall be caused by me to receive the name of *Mahāmata svāsatam*, or [place of meditation of the officers], let it so remain for a perpetual endowment by me, and for the furtherance of religion.

[55] "And this edict shall be read aloud in the course of the month of Bhātun [Bhādun ?] [when the moon is] in the *nakhatra* [or lunar mansion of] Tisa :—and, as

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[68] *Journal, As. Soc.* VII. pp. 442 *et seq.*

most desirable, also it shall be repeatedly read aloud in the last month of the year, in the lunar mansion Tisa, "even if one person be present ; thus to the end of time to afford instruction to the congregation of the tupha."[69]

Kosala Gang Tank :—Close by Dhauli is a large tank, a mile and a half in length by five furlongs in breadth, having a small island in its centre on which there are the remains of what is called a palace *(nār)* or a fort *(bārabāti)*. "Once a superb artificial sheet of water," it was, when I saw it, a good deal choked with weed and sand. This sand is probably due to the fact that at one time the tank was fed by a canal leading from the Dayā river to its north-west corner The line of the canal still exists, but it has so silted up as to be unfit for the purpose for which it was made ; except during the rainy season when the river is flooded, and the level of the water in it is much higher than the bed of the canal, and the tank is filled up to the full extent of its size. At one time the canal was spanned by several stone bridges, and on the western or the Dhauli side there are heaps of stone foundations, potsherds, and bricks, which indicate the former existence here of a town ; but there is nothing to show that the town was synchronous with the date of the inscription. The tank was excavated during the reign of Gaṅgeśvara Deva in the 12th century, and it is to be presumed that when he got it dug, he had buildings made on its banks as well as on the island. The house on the island was obviously a sort of summer-house such as are seen in other large tanks in the Cuttack and Puri districts, and when the Rājā occupied it, he must have required out-houses for his retinue on the bank of the tank. There is nothing in the ruins to justify the assumption that they have existed since the time of Aśoka. In the case of Dhauli itself the identification of the modern village with the site of the Dubalabi *stūpa* rests on the near resemblance of the name.

The Uriyās have a disgusting story, taken from the *Mādlā Pañji*, current among them, to account for the origin of the tank, which has thus been narrated by Major Kittoe : "Mahārājā Adhirājā Gaṅgeśvara Deva, having become enamoured of his daughter (by name) Kośalā, sought to attain his object, by the following stratagem. Having assembled the priests and other learned men of his court, he questioned them as to whether it was lawful for a man to enjoy the fruit of his own sowing ? Unaware of the real purport of the question, an affirmative answer, such as the Rājā wished, to suit his conscience, was given. After a time the princess being delivered of a son, the Rājā was taken to task for his infamy ; but he, on the other hand, threw the blame upon those whose counsel he had sought, reminding them of their answer to the question by which he had deceived them. The Brāhmaṇs, in atonement of the sin they had apparently been the cause of, ordained that a golden vase with a small perforation at the bottom should be placed (filled with water) on the head of the offspring who was to be led by his mother round a space of ground as much as they could travel over until the whole of the water should be expended, and that a tank should afterwards be excavated comprising such space ; this mandate was obeyed, and the tank (when finished) called 'Kośalā

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[69] *Journal, As. Soc.* VII. pp. 446 *et seq.*

Gaṅg' after the Rājā Gaṅgeśvara and his daughter Kośalā."[70] There is nothing in the history of the later Rājās of Orissa to make the story improbable, and the authority of the *Mādlā Pañji*—"the chronicles of the Puri Temple" may, in such a matter, be accepted as reliable. Had there been any doubt as to its authenticity, the story would not have found a place in the chronicles which were recorded by men in the pay of the Rājā and under his immediate control.

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70. *Ibid.* p. 436.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF ORISSA—VOL. II

R. L. MITRA

CHAPTER II

BHUVANESVARA

[56] Bhuvaneśvara—Its situation, boundary and area.—Number and nature of its houses. —Population and present, condition.—Early notices—Under Yajāti Keśarī—Capital of Orissa.—Hiouen-Thsang's notice of the capital of Orissa.—Boundary after the time of Yajāti.—Hindu legendary account.—The Great Tower.—Bhagavatī's temple.—Other temples within its enclosures. —Story of Gosāgara.—Vindusāgara tank.—The feasts celebrated in honor of the presiding divinity of the Tower.—The Sahasra-liṅgam tank.—Remains of a palace.—Tīrtheśvara Temple. —Anantavāsudeva Temple.—Koṭitīrtheśvara Temple and tank.—Brahmeśvara Temple.—Bhāskareśvara Temple.—Rājārānī Temple.—Kedāreśvara Temple.—Gaurī's Temple and Kuṇḍa.—Mukteśvara Temple.—Siddheśvara Temple.—Alābukeśvara Temple.—Nākeśvara Temple.—Rāmeśvara Temple.—VaitālaDeul.—Koṭiliṅga.—Suparṇajaleśvara.—Gokarṇeśvara.—Amratakeśvara.- Jaṭileśvara.—Bhūmeśvara.—Savareśvara.—Magheśvara.—Someśvara Temple.—Sārideul.—Kapileśvara Temple and tank.—Gandhavatī River.—Pāpanāsana pool.

Bhuvaneśvara is an inland out-of-the-way town on the right side of the Puri road, at a distance of about twenty miles from Cuttack. According to the district register it is included within the boundary of Killā Khurdā, Pargunnah Daṇḍimal, and is known under the name of Mauzā Gosāgara.[1] Its present boundary may be roughly described to extend from the temple of Rāmeśvara to a little to the west of that of Bhuvaneśvara on the west; from the latter to the temple of Kapileśvara on the south; from the last to the temple of Bhāskareśvara on the east; and from the last to Rāmeśvara on the north. This forms an irregular rhomboid of a little under a mile and a half a side. Its area is reckoned at 2790 *māns*,[2] 9 *gunṭhs* and 14 *biśvās*=1253 acres, 1 rood and 22 poles, or nearly two miles and a half. The greater part of this area is covered by arid plains of laterite, waste lands interspersed with patches of paddy-fields, ruins of old buildings, and deserted temples. Of waste land the area is 405 acres and 36 poles, or nearly one-third of the total. The balance comprises 36 a. 3 r. 12 p. of Devottra belonging to Kapileśvara, 9 a. 3 r. to Anantavāsudeva, 4-3 to Paradāreśvara, 3-2-37 to Uttareśvara, 6-2-37 to Gopālinī, and the rest 1196 acres to Bhuvaneśvara.

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[1] The circumstances under which the place obtained this name will be noticed further on.

[2] The *mān* varies greatly in different parts of the province. The people reckon a square of 9 feet to be a *biśvā*, 16 such making a *gunṭh* and 24 *gunṭhs* a *mān*. The standard one is, however, a square of 20 rods a side, each rod being 10 feet 5 inches and 1 barleycorn long. This square is equal to an English acre. The *mān* current at Bhuvaneśvara is measured by a rod *(padīkā)* of 7 feet, and includes a smaller area.

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Number and nature of its houses :—For so large an area, the number of houses is small, being only 716, of which 249 belong to Kapileśvara. The bulk of these houses is thatched. The masonry houses, which include five monasteries, the zemindar's offices, and a very few dwellings, are partly of brick and partly of rubble stones laid in mortar, and plastered. Of the monasteries *(maṭhs)* three belong to Sannyāsis who call themselves Nirākāravādis "or men who deny the corporeal existence of the Deity", in contradistinction to the Bhāratis and the Yogis, who believe in the corporeality of the Godhead (Sākāravādis), and have large establishments at Puri, owning extensive landed property, the Bhuvaneśvara maṭhs being branches. Both the last two sects are Śaivas. Their houses are kept in good repair, and serve as resting places for the itinerent members of their order. They have here no literary treasures worth the name, but at their head-quarters there are large collections of old Sanskrit MSS. The thatched dwellings are of the type common all over the country, having mud walls with roofs of leaves or straw. Tiles are unknown.

Its population and present condition:—The population of the town, according to the census of 1872, numbered, 3,926 souls, of whom 1,547 were residents of Kapileśvara. The details of the different castes which inhabit the place are shown in the following table :

	B	K	Total.
Beskārs and Paṇḍās (Priests and dressers of the idols)	66	631	697
Dakshiṇī Brāhmaṇs (from Dekkan)	1	3	4
Khetrabāsi Brāhmaṇas (non-professional Brāhmaṇs)	38	127	165
Maliā Sebak (temple servants)	922	165	1078
Guriyā (sweetmeat-makers)	68	34	102
Gandhavaṇik (spice-sellers)	12	12	24
[57] Sarṇavaṇik (goldsmiths)	12	50	62
Teli or Kolu (oil-makers and sellers)	32	75	107
Gowālā (cowherds)	35	57	92
Kaivarta (fishermen)	69	38	107
Chhutār (carpenters)	6	17	23
Nāpit (barbers)	16	52	68
Chāṣā (cultivators)	53	279	332
Karaṇa (writer-caste)	24	34	58
Tāñti (weavers)	7	0	7
Tambuli (betel-sellers)	6	0	6
Rājput	9	7	16
Dhobā (washermen)	209	23	232
Bāuri (aboriginal)	118	374	492
Kāhār (palki-bearers and load-carriers, undefined)	14	0	14
Śūdras	0	69	69
Sannyāsis	0	16	16
Teliṅgas	0	6	6

	B	K	Total.
Kāhālīya	0	3	3
Paravaras (up-country Buddhists, Burmahs, &c.) ...	0	3	3
Kumāra (potters)	0	114	114
Sāgardapeshā (cross between Bengalis and Uriyas) ...	0	12	12
Darzi (tailors)	0	32	32
Kāmāra (blacksmiths)	0	13	13
Samarthā	0	59	59
Hāḍi (sweepers)	0	35	35
Jyotiṣī (astrologers)	0	41	41
Chhatrakhāyi (a new class of out-castes ; those who ate rice at Annachhatras during the famine of 1866) ...	0	4	4
Total	1,717	2,385	4,029

A glance at this table at once shows the nature of the population of the city. Out of a total of 4029, no less than 697, or nearly one-sixth are professional priests, and if we add to that 165 of non-professional Brāhmaṇs we get a total of 862 or considerably over one-fifth of the priestly caste. Then the temple servants constitute over one-fourth of the population (1078) ; and the two together represent nearly one-half of the community to be connected with the religious establishments of the place ; and the other half live to minister to their wants and enjoyments. The number of potters may at first sight appear to be too large for so small a population, but if we bear in mind that the offerings in the different temples are all made in fresh earthen pots, and that they are subsequently sold in small quantities in other fresh earthen pots, no pot being allowed by the Śāstras and the custom of the country to be twice used, the demand for pottery, we shall find, must be considerably greater than what would be deemed reasonable for a similar number of men elsewhere. The number of washermen is also large ; but such of them as do not get opportunities for carrying on their caste profession, take to agriculture. Most of the goldsmiths are filigrains, and they send the produce of their industry and art for sale to Cuttack. There are no Muhammadans except round about the suburbs.

The houses are generally straggling, and scattered wide apart from each other ; and most of them being intended as resting-places for pilgrims, are ordinarily left unoccupied. The shops are of the poorest description, designed only for the supply of the necessaries of life to the small population and the pilgrims, who visiting the place on their return from Puri, are generally too weak in purse to be able to offer any substantial encouragement to trade. The Brāhmaṇs, who form the bulk of the people, are all priests ; they engage in no occupation or trade, and live mainly on what they can get from the pilgrims. Once the proud capital of a large and flourishing kingdom, the city stands now as only a monument of departed greatness. Its lands are no longer the dwelling-places of multitudes of princes, ministers, and of statesmen ;

merchants, traders, artizans and labourers from distant parts of India come for purposes of gain by ministering to the pleasures of a luxurious court. Its streets are deserted. Its ancient palaces and lordly mansions [58] are roofless, and reduced to shapeless ruins buried under tangled veils of impervious vegetation. Its temples, once resonant with the hum of thousands of zealous and devout worshippers, now stand concealed by trees whose roots are struggling not unsuccessfully to displace the stones of their massive walls, and knock them down into amorphous heaps. Its squares and markets, once the resort of merchants and traders from all the leading seats of Indian commerce, and perhaps from distant countries beyond India, are now deserted, and form the abode of jackals, wolves, and noxious reptiles. Its very soil, once covered by many a magnificent dwelling, is now buried amidst ruins and rubble-stones, or forced by the plough of a poverty-stricken community to yield a scanty return of corn. In short, the whole place has a cheerless, woe-begone, lifeless look about it, which loudly proclaims that the sun of its glory has long since set. The only exception to this remark is afforded by that portion of the town which is knowm by the name of Kapileśvara. It stands in remarkable contrast to Bhuvaneśvara proper. With an area of scarce three hundred acres, and a population of 1717 souls, its houses, 249 in number, are fresh-plastered, well-thatched, closely set along a well-kept good street, and on the whole cheerful-looking and lively. To sum up, while the one appears the abode of living man, the other is a smouldering monument of extinguished grandeur.

Its antiquarian importance :—Thus Bhuvaneśvara in the present day is a small, insignificant, uninviting place with no wealth, no commerce, and no manufactory, peopled by hungry priests, and desolate in every respect. It is, nevertheless, a most interesting field for the antiquarian, abounding as it does in architectural remains of the highest value, and connected as it is with historical associations of rare importance. To quote the language of the late Lord Canning used with reference to the plains round Delhi, it is "studded with ruins more thickly than even the Campagna of Rome",[3] and its history affords remarkable illustrations of the vicissitudes in the existence of an Indian town for five and twenty centuries.

Earliest mention in the Temple Records :—The earliest mention of Bhuvaneśvara in the Temple Records of Puri occurs in connexion with the reign of Yajāti, the first of the Cæsars[4] of Orissa, who held the sceptre of that country for fifty-two years, from 474 to 526 of the Christian era. He was a sovereign of great renown, and rose to power by expelling the so-called *Jabans* who are said to have occupied Orissa for one hundred and forty-three years before him. Sterling[5] and Dr. Hunter[6] are of opinion that by *Jabans* the Records mean Buddhists, and I have no hesitation in subscribing to the conclusion. The fact, however, is that the Buddhists, instead of occupying Orissa for one hundred and forty-three years before the accession of Yajāti Keśarī, had maintained their sovereignty in that province for several centuries anterior to that period; but it not being to the interest of the Brāhmaṇical writers of the Temple Records to make the admission, the time has been limited to a short period only and a long period prior to it, filled up with imaginary names. "Before the accession of the family called the Keśarī Vaṅsa, (473 A.D.)," says Sterling, "the accounts are so replete with obvious falsehood, contradiction, inconsistency, and anachronism as to be equally unitelligible and unworthy of notice. The memory of a few great names and events, only, has been preserved up to the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era, and to adapt these to their favourite system of chronology, the Brāhmaṇs, who will never admit want of information on any subject, have been obliged to give an expansion to the reigns of their traditionary Rājās, in some cases of five and six hundred years, and in all far beyond the natural or possible term of human life."[7]

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[3] *Archaeological Survey Report*, Vol.1, p, 11.

[4] The word *Keśarī* has a close resemblance to the proud title of the Kaisars of Persia and the Cæsars of Rome, and knowing that the history of the Kaisars was well-known to the Uriyās, that the coins of some of the Cæsars of Rome have frequently been met with in Southern India, (*Journal As. Soc.*) and that the commercial intercourse of the Romans with India was intimate in the early part of the Christian era, (Vincent's *Periplus of the Erythrian Sea* and Heeren's *Historical Researches*), it would not be presumptuous to suppose that the title was a borrowed one. It is interpreted by the Uriyās of the present day to be "lion", and said to be the counterpart of the title *siṃha* so universal in India ; but that is of no importance, inasmuch as the practice of interpreting foreign words by reference to Sanskrit roots is universal in this country, and it would not by any

Yajati Kesari :—The family history of Yajāti is unknown. In a copper-plate grant lately found in the Cuttack Collectorate, Yajāti calls himself the son of Rājā Janamejaya, and assigns to himself the higher title of Mahārājā, and to Bhava Gupta of Magadha the imperial title of Mahārājādhirāja. He also acknowledges vassalage to the sovereign of Magadha in whose name he makes grants of land to Brāhmaṇs. He was probably a Hindu of the north,[8] perhaps of Oudh, who, either as a free lance, or as a lieutenant of the Gupta king, heading a Brāhmaṇical [59] revival, first established himself at Jājapura which was for a time his capital, and where, according to the local legends, he settled ten thousand Brāhmaṇs brought from Oudh, and endowed them with rent-free lands for their support[9]. Starting from this base, he gradually

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means subserve the cause of truth to rely on it. Dr. Hunter gives the alternative meaning of "long-haired" from *Keśara* "mane", *Kesarī* "the maned"; but such an epithet would scarcely be worth adoption by a great sovereign and his descendants for many generations. Epithets like "long-shanks" or "red-haired" in English history were nick-names and not titles.

5. "Possibly the tradition which I have described above, may have some connexion with the fierce religious disputes which raged between the worshippers of Brahmā and Buddha about the period in which the invasion of foreigners and the flight of Jagannāth is placed, and which, as is well known, terminated in the expulsion of the latter from the Continent of India." Sterling, *Asiatic Researches*, XV, p.264.

6. *Orissa*, Vol.I.Chap.V.

7. *Asiatic Researches*, XV, p 256.

8. Three copper-plates have lately been discovered at Cuttack, in two of which Yajāti gives land to Northern Brāhmaṇs a locality near Cuttack; he names "Dakṣiṇa Kośala" or the Kośala of the South, obviously in contradistinction to the Kośala of the North.

9. cf. Hunter, *Orissa* I, pp.238-241.

pushed on, overthrowing the Buddhists everywhere, and gave permanency to Hindu rule and Hindu institutions by reviving or establishing the worship of Viṣṇu on the ashes of Buddhism at Puri, and that of Śiva at Bhuvaneśvara. The last-named place he must have secured about the close of his long and prosperous reign, for the Records mention that he made preparations for the erection of the great temple there, but did not live long enough to complete it. A heap of ruins is now shown near the Temple of Rāmeśvara, which is said to be the remains of his palace ; but it is doubtful if he ever established his capital there. His successors, however, for twenty-four generations held their court in the great city of the Lord of the Universe (*Bhuvana*, "World" and *Īśvara*" lord") until Nṛpati Keśarī, in 940-950, founded Cuttack, and removed the seat of Government to the new capital.

Capital of Orissa at the time of Hiouen Thsang :—Hiouen Thsang visited Orissa between 634 and 640, during the reign of Lalāṭendra Keśarī, who flourished from 623 to 677 in Bhuvaneśvara, where the remains of his palace are still shown ; but it does not seem that the pilgrim ever came to that town. The circumference of the capital at the time, he says, was 20 *li*,[10] which would give a square of about a mile a side, or somewhat less than half the present area of Bhuvaneśvara and it is very unlikely that that place was smaller when it was a capital than what it is now. The distance and direction of the capital from Tāmralipti as given in the biography of the pilgrim are also against the assumption. The former was 700 *li*, and the latter south-west, which would bring him to Jājapura and not to Bhuvaneśvara, and as that was the capital of Yajāti Keśarī and possibly of his son for at least a time, General Cunningham very correctly assumes it to have been the place meant.[11] After describing the general character of the kingdom as quoted in a preceding part of this work (*Vol.I* p. [7]) Hiouen Thsang says : "Au milieu d'une, grande montagne, qui est situee sur les frontieres sud-ouest du royaume, śéléve un couvent appelé *Pou-se po-k'i li-seng-kia-lan* (Pouchpāgiri sanghārāma). Il renferme un *Stoupa* en pierre ou éclatant beaucoup de prodiges. Quelquefois, aux jours de jeune, il répand une lueur éclatante. C'est pourquoi les hommes qu'anime une foi pure y accourent de tous cotés. Ils tiennent de parasols ornés de plus belles fleurs, et présentant á l'envi leurs offrandes. Si, au bas di bassin qui recoit la rosée, et sur la coupole, qui a la forme dun vase renversé, ils placent la hampe dun parasol orné de fleurs, elle y reste fixée comme une aiguille attirée par l'aimant. Dans un couvent situé sur une montagne, au nord-ouest de cet endroit, il y a un *Stoupa* qui offre les

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[10] *Ante*, I, p. [7].

[11] "By a reference to the *Biography of Hiouen Thsang* (St. Julien I,184) it would appear that the capital of Oḍra was 700 li to the south-west of Tāmpralipti, and as this bearing and distance agree with the position of *Jajipura*, I think that the pilgrim must have returned to *Tāmluk* from Kiraṇa Suvarṇa before proceeding to Oḍra. In the travels of the pilgrim (Julien III, 88) the bearing and distance are taken for Kiraṇa Suvarṇa, but this is perhaps a mistake as they are usually referred to the capital, which whether we place it at Jajipur or at Kaṭak, is due south of Kiraṇa Suvarṇa." *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 510.

memes merveilles que le pré cédent. Ces deux *Stoupas* ont été batis par les démons, et de lá viennent ces miracles extraordinaires."[12] General Cunningham takes the two mountains here referred to to be the Udayagiri and the Khaṇḍagiri ; but as the pilgrim or his translator uses the words "frontieres de royaume," the proper locale for the first mountain should be somewhere in Daspālā, or Nayāghar, and the second in Maurbhanj near Kiraṇa Suvarṇa. If we could assume the *royaume* to be a mistranslation of *capital*, and that capital to have been Bhuvaneśvara, the first would be Dhauli, which is situated to the south-west and the second Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri, both of which are to the north-west of that city. The distance and direction given being, however, in favour of Jājapura, this assumption cannot be adopted.

According to General Cunningham "the ancient metropolis of the country was Kaṭak on the Mahānadi river," whence it was removed by Yajāti Keśarī to Yajātipur in the early part of the sixth century, and Bhuvaneśvara was founded by Lalāṭendra Keśarī.[13] There is nothing, however, to show that Kaṭak was the ancient capital, or that Bhuvaneśvara was founded by Lalāṭendra Keśarī. On the contrary, the Temple Records distinctly state that Kaṭak, the oldest of the three towns which have borne that name was founded by Nṛpati Keśarī in 940, nearly three centuries after the death of Lalāṭendra, and as the Records in question for that period are authentic and most probably contemporary, there is no reason to doubt them ; and I shall presently show on evidence which I think is quite unimpeachable that Bhuvaneśvara existed many centuries before the age of that king.

Boundary after the time of Yajati, and ancient name and site :—According to the *Kapila Saṃhitā*, quoted in the *Ekāmra-candrākā*, Bhuvaneśvarā or, as it is there named, Ekāmra Kānana, the "mango forest," within a century or two of the reign of Lalāṭendra, comprised a circular area extending from Khaṇḍagiri on the west to the temple of Kuṇḍaleśvara near the village of Tankapāni near the Puri road, and from that to Balahā or Vārāhī Devī close by the village of [60] Miyāpalli on the north, to that of Vahiraṅgeśvara on the Dhauli hill to the south, including altogether an area of three *yojanas* or 12 miles, which now bears on it no less than forty-five different villages[14] as shown in the diagram in Fig. 1. The relative distances shown in the diagram are merely approximate, the plan being the work of

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[12] *Voyages des Pélerins Bouddhistes*, III, pp. 89 f.

[13] *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 512.

[14] 1. Bhuvaneśvara. 2. Pokharipūṭa. 3. Kochilāpūṭa. 4. Bāhādalpur. 5. Purokna. 6. Botaṇḍā. 7. Kaṇṭilo. 8. Kuhpa. 9. Bāpkāṭi. 10. Rathijamā. 11. Hirāpur. 12. Karṇāṭaniyā. 13. Gaḍ Śrīrāmpur. 14. Durgādāsapur. 15. Śisupāla. 16. ?. 17. Taṅkapānī. 18. Bānkuāl. 19. Jhārgaḍ. 20. Lakṣmīsāgar. 21. Barāgaḍ. 22. ?. 23. Pokhriput. 24. ?. 25. ?. 26. Sundarāpadā. 27. Kopilaprasād. 28. Palāsapur. 29. Kumāradihā. 30. Iṭipur. 31. Jayapur. 32. Gaḍ Dhauli. 33. Nayā Gaon. 34. Nāthpur. 35. Siṅgāpur. 36. Saradaipur. 37. Kushpadā. 38. Bālkatī. 39. Jamamārā. 40. Dumdumā. 41. Jadupur. 42. Sarkantār. 43. Kalthiyāpātrā. 44. ?. 45. ?

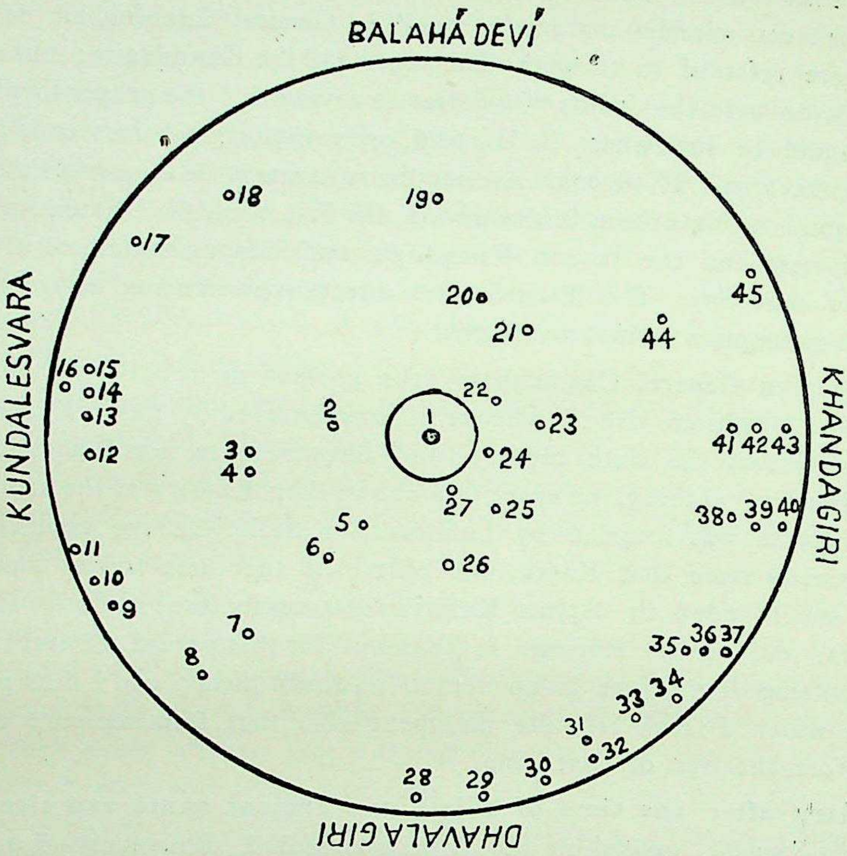
BALAHÁDEVÍ
KUNDALESVARA
KHANDAGIRI
DHAVALAGIRI
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Fig 1

a paṇḍit, and not of a surveyor. The inner circle shows the land elect of the presiding divinity of the place, and the outer the extreme boundary of the sacred city, or the circuit which a pilgrim has to go over in his circumambulation. In reality the boundary in either case is anything but an exact circle.

All the places named are still extant and form the boundary marks of the circuit which a pious pilgrim is expected to go round when visiting this holy spot. This circumambulation is called "going round of the city," (*Kṣetra parikramaṇa*) and takes several days to accomplish. The *Ekāmra Purāṇa*, however, does not insist upon this large circuit ; it assigns the inner circle formed by a radius of one mile round the Great Tower as the proper boundary of the circumambulation ; but it recommends the operation to be repeated three times, and gives directions how it is to be performed, and what mantras should be repeated when starting on the journey.[15] The religious merit of the operation is even greater than the performance of ten thousand horse sacrifices. All sins that might be contracted in other sacred places are wiped away by visiting Svarnakūṭa (Khaṇḍagiri), but what are contracted in the last-named place can be destroyed only by making the circumambulation of the sacred city. This is obviously a counterpart of the practice observed at Benares where no pilgrim can fulfil all his religious obligations without traversing the boundary of the city or performing what is there called *pañcakoṣi yātrā* or "five *koṣ* pilgrimage," i.e., circumambulating the boundary road.[16] And this is borne out by the fact that *Ekāmra Purāṇa* is satisfied with a circuit formed by a radius of one mile round the Great Tower or the inner circle which is nowhere beyond [61] five *koṣ* or ten miles from the temple of Viśveśvara. This shows that the boundary described is no fiction, and the road, or foot-path,—for in some places there is no distinct road now perceptible,—is the landmark of the ancient boundary. The area, however, is too large for any ancient city proper, and I am disposed to believe that it includes what formerly constituted a considerable portion of its suburbs. Anyhow this much is certain that Dhauli at one time was a part of the suburbs of Bhuvaneśvara. Now, the low hill at Dhauli, as already stated (ante p. [46]), bears the Orissa edition of the celebrated edicts of Aśoka, and, as it would be absurd to suppose that edicts, intended for the good and guidance of mankind at large, had been put up in a desert place, it must follow that the place round or near Dhauli was not only largely inhabited, but was the provincial capital, or a place of such considerable importance as would justify the selection of it as the locale where the publication of the mandates of a distant suzerain would suffice for the whole province. The edicts were widely disseminated, but not very numerously. As yet only five complete sets have been met with on living rocks ; 1st, at Dhauli, on the eastern coast of India ; 2nd, at Girnār in Guzerat, on the western coast ; 3rd, at Shābhāzgheri in the Yusafzai country, on the extreme north-western frontier ; 4th, at Khālsi ; 5th, at Ganjām. Of solitary edicts on rocks there are : 1st, found at Bhābrā, which has been transferred to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta ; 2nd, at Bairāṭ ; 3rd, at Rūpanāth ; 4th, at Saserām ; of which the first has been translated by Major Kittoe, and the other three by Dr. G. Bühler in the *Indian Antiquary*. The edicts on the Pillars are also not numerous ; we have two at Delhi, one at Allahabad, one ar Arirāj, and one at Lauriyā. If we assume one set of edicts for every provincial capital, it would be much more than what available evidence at present would justify ; nor could we under any circumstance assume that a provincial capital would anywhere be postponed in favour of a village or town of secondary importance. Thus, we must conclude that the neighbourhood of Dhauli was the site of the Orissan capital, whose countenance and support were sought in favour of the edicts, and, as on the other three sides of it there is no vestige of any ancient town, it must follow that the side where Bhuvaneśvara stands was the site. This inference is considerably strengthened by the fact that, a century before the time of Aśoka when the cave dwellings of Udayagiri were occupied by Buddhist monks, there was absolute necessity for a large town in their neighbourhood, whence the monks, pledged to life-long mendicancy, could obtain their daily supplies of food by itinerant begging, and that town would be too far away if it existed beyond Dhauli, whereas Bhuvaneśvara is most centrically and conveniently situated both for Dhauli and Udayagiri. As in the case of Dhauli so in that of Udayagiri, there is no vestige of any ancient town to its north-east or west. Dhauli itself was a place of some note as the site of a tope (ante p. [53]), and its present name Gar Dhauli shows that it was also the site of a small fort ; it is too far from the caves of Khaṇḍagiri to be the likely locale of the capital. It is also not large enough in area for such a purpose. Again, the inscriptions of Udayagiri repeatedly refer to the kings of Kaliṅga, and sometimes to Kaliṅga-nagarī, 'the city of Kaliṅga,' but the word Orissa does not occur in any one of them ; and this would suggest the idea that the kings then were known by the name of their capital, as many other Indian kings have since been known in the same way, and that the Oḍs, who still prevail in Khurdā in the neighbourhood of Bauvaneśvara, had not then risen to sufficient importance to give their name to a city, though they unquestionably have since given it to the province. Of course there is nothing tangible to show that the Kaliṅga-nagarī of the inscriptions is the modern Bhuvaneśvara ; but as it would be unreasonable to suppose the existence, in the third century B.C., of a large town of such importance as would attract the attention of Aśoka, which was not a capital, nor of a metropolitan character, we may very reasonably suppose that the town in question was the chief seat of power of the Kaliṅga rājās ; and if this be admitted the *Kaliṅga-nagarī* or 'city of Kaliṅga' of the Elephant Cave of Udayagiri would be the same.

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[15] *Ekāmra Purāṇa*, Chap. 65.

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[16] The following is Mr. Sherring's account of this act of devotion : "To perform the pilgrimage of the *pañckoṣi* is accounted a very meritorious act. It is necessary that every good Hindu residing in the city of Beneres should twice a year accomplish this pilgrimage, in order that the impurity which the soul and body have contracted during the year may be obliterated ; for it is held to be impossible even to reside in such a holy city as Beneres, without contracting such devilement Not only the inhabitants of Beneres, but also mutitudes of persons from various parts of India, traverse the road, and seek to obtain the blessing which, they are told, such a pious act ensures. It is customery for a large number of pilgrims to travel together on this journey. Before setting out each morning, they must bathe in a tank or stream, and on terminating their march each day, must perform the same rite. They do not permit themselves the luxury of shoes, nor do they relieve the fatigue of the journey by the assistance of either horse, or ass, or camel, or elephant, or of any carriage or cart or vehicle whatever. Anxious to secure a full measure of merit, they cannot afford that it should be lessened by the appliances and arts of civilized life. All, therefore, men, women, and children, rich and poor, princes and peasants, travel on foot. Starting from the Maṇikarṇikā Ghāṭ, the pilgrim keeps along the banks of the Ganges until he arrives at the Asi Sangam and Asi Ghāṭ, where a petty stream flowes into the great river. From this spot he proceeds to a temple of Jagannāth close by, and thence on to the village of Khāṇḍhava, where he stays for the day, having performed a journey of 6 miles The second day's march is to the village of Dhāpcandī, 10 miles further on, where he worships the tutelary goddess of that name. On the third day he arrives at Rāmeśvara after a long walk of 14 miles. The fourth day brings him to Śivapur, where he visits the famous shrine of Pañc Pāndav, or five brothers, who were all married to one woman. On this day he travels 8 miles, and, on the fifth day, 6 more, namely, to the village of Kapildhārā, where he worships the god Mahādeva. The sixth and last stage is from Kapildhārā to the Burna Sangam, thence to Maṇikarṇikā Ghāṭ from which he first set out, which is also 6 miles in length. He has thus completed in 6 days a march of nearly 50 miles." (*The Sacred City of the Hindus*, pp. 177 f.). Mr. Sherring is of opinion, that this pilgrimage is of modern date, not earlier than the time of Rāṇī Bhavānī, or 150 years ; but seeing that in the time of Todar Mall a tank was excavated by the road for the service of Śiva, and the rite got currency at Bhuvaneśvara when the *Kapila Saṃhitā* was written long before that date, and everything at Bhuvaneśvara was got up in imitation of Benares, with a view to make it a second Benares, I think the conjecture is not tenable. The main argument used is that there is nothing old about the road, is, to say the least, a very weak one. Mr. Sherring says the oldest inscription is about 250 years of age, but Todar Mall's inscription (*Proceedings As. Soc.* for May 1875, p.84) is older.

Now, the Buddhist annals relate that when Śākya died in 543 B.C., the kings of Kaliṅga were potentates of great influence, and obtained a share of his relices [17] Their capital, which would naturally be called Kaliṅga-nagarī, was then an important seat of Buddhism, worthy of being reckoned as one of the ten leading sovereignties which were to receive a share each of the said relics. One of the eye-teeth of the great saint was then assigned to it ; and that tooth formed the subject of contention for several centuries afterwards, until it was removed to Ceylon. It would seem that the tooth in question was originally deposited in Kaliṅga-nagarī, thence removed to Dāntan or Dantapuri near Pipli, thence to Pāṭaliputra, thence back to Orissa, Teliṅgānā and Ceylon. From the last-named place it—or its substitute—went through a long series of migrations until burnt to [62] ashes at Goa by order of Don Constantine, the Portuguese Viceroy, before an imposing assembly of prelates and notables of the old city of Goa, as it was said, "for the promotion of the glory of God, the honour and prestige of Christianity, and the salvation of souls ;"[18] but even then to reappear and to find a resting-place at the Māligāva temple at Kandy in Ceylon. Taking these facts into consideration it would not be unreasonable to suppose that the kings meant were of the same city which is named in the inscriptions.

Thus, the history of the city may be traced to the sixth century B.C., and its name may very reasonably be concluded to have been Kaliṅga-nagarī. We have then Bhuvaneśvara under the name of Kaliṅga-nagarī, the capital of Orissa from the 6th century B.C. to the time of Yayārī Keśarī, in the middle of the fifth century A.C. Assuming that Yayāti was an adventurer from the north, probably a lieutenant of the Gupta Rājās of Magadha, he must have come down from Behar to Orissa, and the first important place where he could establish his capital was Jājapur, which is believed by some to have derived its name from him. Proceeding thence to the south, he gradually subverted the supremacy of the Buddhists, and, at the close of his reign, got possession of Bhuvaneśvara where he made preparations for establishing the large tower, but died before accomplishing it. His successor, knowing the importance of the place in the estimation of the people, naturally wished to make it their capital, and so it again became the capital of Orissa a generation or two afterwards—certainly in the time of Lalāṭendra

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[17] *Asiatic Researches*, XX, p. 317.

[18] Gerson da Cunha's *Memoir on the History of the Tooth Relic of Ceylon*, p.45.

Keśarī in the 7th century A.C. when the temple of Bhuvaneśvara was completed ; and in honour of the Lord of the Universe its name was changed to Bhuvaneśvara, in the same way as Puri is called Jagannāth, and Benares Tŕipurāri-rājanagarī. It finally lost its proud position of a metropolitan city and all political importance in 940 A.D., when Nripati Keśarī founded Cuttack, as his capital. As an inland town without any water-communication with the rest of the province, and having no manufactory of importance of its own, the loss of its political importance was synonymous with its desertion and ruin. Elsewhere the halo of religion is able to avert such a catastrophe, for a time at least ; but in the case of Bhuvaneśvara even this protection was wanting, for the Śāstras having enjoined that all Śivite temples must cease to be sacred the moment they are desecrated and that a temple where service has once ceased should not be again consecrated, temple after temple repidly lost its sanctity from desuetude of worship, and with the loss of worship, the sanctuary itself fell into decay and under the all-destroying influence of an Indian climate and the roots of the destructive fig tree soon became shapeless ruins.

Hindu legendary account of Bhuvanesvara :—To Turn now to Hindu legendary history. The leading works which treat of the town as a holy place of pilgrimage are : (1) the *Brahma Purāṇa*, (2) the *Śiva Purāṇa*, (3) the *Ekāmra Purāṇa*, (4) the *Kapila Saṃhitā*. All the leading compilations on sacred shrines and pools likewise refer to the place, but in doing so, they generally quote from some one or other of the above-named texts, and therefore they may be left out of consideration. The *Brahma* and the *Siva Purāṇas* are large and very comprehensive works, and only a few chapters of the first book of the former and four or five of the last books of the latter give some of the legends connected with the ancient history of Bhuvaneśvara. The third, as already stated (ante, I, p. [10]) is devoted exclusively to the description of the sanctity of its different holy shrines and sacred pools. The fourth has the sacred places of Orissa for its subject, and assigns only a part of its space to Bhuvaneśvara, and in doing so, takes care, in accordance with its own sectarian character, to subordiante the worship of Siva, the presiding divinity of the place, to that of Viṣṇu. The *Ekāmra-candrikā*, like the *Ekāmra Purāṇa*, is devoted exclusively to the religious merits of Bhuvaneśvara ; but it is professedly a compilation, and not an original authority. These works afford us no information regarding the Buddhist period of the history of this place. With them its history brings from remote antiquity as a lovely tope of a single mango tree. Thus the *Kapila Saṃhitā :* "In a former age there existed on this spot a mango tree of great merit, and because there was an only tree, the place is called the grove of one mango tree *(ekāmra vana)*,—a lofty tree with mangificent branches, decked with gem-like leaves, and bearing fruits which bestowed the fourfold blessings of virtue, wealth, desirable objects and salvation."[19] The *Ekāmra Purāṇa* accounts for the name in a similar way and almost in the same words.[20] The word *vana* of the name is optinally and frequently replaced by *vipina*, *kānana* and other synonyms for a wood, a grove, or a forest, as also by the word *kṣetra*, "a sacred spot," though the latter is usually understood to include a much wider area than the former, the one comprising a circuit of one *kroṣa* or two miles[21] and the other nine *yojanas* or fifty-four miles.[22] "It was in the Tretā Yuga," or second age, says the [63] *Kapila Saṃhitā*, "that Śiva, wishing to retire from the din and sin of over-crowded Benares, sought the advice of Nārada, and, at the suggestion of that sage, took up this qutie, secluded, delightful retreat for his abode." Kapila quotes the authority of Bharadvāja, who, he says, first imparted the secret and interesting account of this move on the part of Śiva to a company of sages assembled near the sacred pool of Puṣkara. "Formerly in the Tretā Yuga", said Bharadvāja, "when the great Lord Maheśvara dwelt in the city of Benares, he once thus addressed the pre-eminently holy sage Nārada : 'We shall no longer reside in the city, for now it will surely be destroyed. It has become greatly over-crowded and injurious to devotion. It is not proper to live in a place which has become over-crowded. Disturbances occur there, caused by atheists and men bereft of sense ; and no virtue can abide in a locality occupied by atheists. Through vice, O chief of sages, the offering of clarified butter ceases. Formerly this place was prepared very carefully for Pārvatī, and whatever Pārvatī is pleased with that is gratifying to me. But now my mind is not encouraged to dwell here. Tell me, therefore, O noblest of sages, where there may be a secret, and excellent retreat for me ?' Nārada replied : 'On the shore of the Salt Sea, there is the best of hills the Blue Hill (*Nīla Śaila*) and to the north of that, O lord, is the noted grove of one mango tree ; and there alone, in the lovely forest, doth the spiritual lord of the universe, the husband of Ramā, along with Ananta, flourish under the name of Vāsudeva. That place is great secret ; even Prajāpati (Brahmā) does not know of it : even your excellency does not know of it ; to say nothing of the other gods. This solitary mango, Śaṃkara, is a great secret ; even the daughter of the ocean, (Lakṣmī), seated on the lap of the mysterious Jagannātha, does not know of it. Janārdana with Ananta is personally manifest there, and there abiding, he decides upon the creation, maintenance and destruction of the universe. The god Ananta always abides by him, along with Lakṣmaṇa, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, and the son of Rohiṇī (Balarāma). O great Lord, it was after years of ardent penance that I came to know of it from the merciful Vāsudeva. I, Śeṣa (Ananta), and Jagannātha are the only three who have access to this holy spot ; but neither has Indra nor the other gods. Thus formerly, O lord, I came to know of this noble retreat, and now you have learnt of this most holy sanctuary (from me).' On hearing this Śiva at once resolved to go to the place, and ordered his chamberlain, Nandi, to prepare for the journey." Passing over the description of the preparations and Durgā's toilet, in anticipation of her tour in the company of her lord, I shall quote the conversation of Śiva and Vāsudeva. Arrived at the sacred grove, Śiva thus addressed its presiding divinity : "Salutation to thee, O thou Supreme Felicity, thou of the lotus navel, thou of glorious eyes. Salutation be to thee (who art) Hari, who assumed the threefold form (of Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Śiva), and whose body is like a blue cloud. Salutations to the dictator of the three regions. O lord, thou art the benefactor of the gods, and the remover of the woes of the miserable! Salutation to the dweller of the Ekāmra,—to him who is arrayed in yellow garments,—to him who, though above the three qualities, is the holder of the discus, the lotus and the conch-shell. Thou art the prime source of the sources of the universe, the friend of thy worshipper, the lord of the universe, and the ocean of unalloyed mercy. There are thousands of charming places for thee; but how is it that I knew not, O lord, thy secret form in Ekāmra? You, Viṣṇu, once told me I was half your body, but how of late have you, O Keśava, made me a stranger? Nārada is thy worshipper, and so is the lord of serpents (Ananta) who serves as thy bed, and they two only know this place; and there is no favour for me. But this is not remarkable. To the Gopīs, who are the adorers of thy love, the highest salvation has been granted by thee, O lord; but Śaṃaka and the other sages are awaiting the lord's will (at his leisure and that) which is ungovernable. Dwelling, O great god, in this charming Grove of the Mango Tree, and betaking to the sleep of mediation, thou keepest thine eyes close. Pray cast on me now, thou sovereign of the universe, a favourable glance. I have come to thy shelter; permit me to dwell in thy choice retreat.'

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[19] *Kapila Saṃhitā*, p. 32.

[20] *Ekāmra Candrikā*, p. 6.

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[21] *ibid*, p. 4.

[22] *Loc. cit.*

"Thus be-praised and solicited by the husband of her who is the daughter of the snowy mountain, opening his eyes, Viṣṇu smilingly replied: 'Listen to my words Śambhu, I speak for your good. I shall with pleasure grant you room for your **[64]** abode here, but you must give me a solemn pledge that you will always abide here with all your retinue, and never go back to Kāśī.'

"Śaṅkara said: 'How can I avoid going to Kāśī where dwelleth my Jāhnavī, and the holy pool Maṇikarṇikā, the substance of all sacred water?'

"Vāsudeva returned: 'Even here existeth in front of thee thy Maṇikarṇī, destroyer of sins (Pāpanāśinī)[23] covered by rocks and overgrown with bushes and creepers. Neither does Nārada know this, nor Śeṣa (Ananta). I alone know it, and you have learnt it now from me. Your Jāhnavī also exists here, she the blessed, born of my feet, to the south-east of me, under the name of Gaṅgā-yamunā. For me there are other sacred pools about this place, all great secrets, the knowledge of which I shall hereafter impart to you. Now Śaṃkara give me your solemn pledge.'

"Saṃkara said: 'Truthfully—truthfully—I promise thee, Madhusūdana, I shall dwell here forsaking Vārānasī and all other holy places, I shall abide by thee in this forest of Ekāmra. Truthfully, truthfully, again truthfully, I say, I shall go nowhere from this place.'

"Bharadvāja continued, 'Having said this, the great Lord Sambhu settled to the south side of Viṣṇu, in the form of a *liṅgam*, the grantor of all the four kinds of blessings: its root or lower part was resplendent as crystal; sapphire blue was its middle; and ruby-coloured its upper part. Such was the *liṅgam* of the lord of the three regions (Tribhuvaneśvara). Thenceforward, O noble Brāhmaṇas, Maheśvara has been in this great sacred place. He is surrounded by ten millions of *liṅgams*, having Vāsudeva as their guardian deity. Those who behold that *liṅgam* at Ekāmra obtain in their palms expiation for ten thousand murders of Brāhmaṇas. Thus having obtained permission from the eternal Vāsudeva, Śambhu presides at the grove of Ekāmra as the lord of ten millions of *liṅgams*.' "[24]

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[23] The name of a rivulet in the neighbourhood of Bhuvaneśvara.

Divested of its legendary surroundings, this story clearly shows that Bhuvaneśvara was established as a rival of Benares, and with a view to divert to it a part at least of the halo of religion which surrounded that holy city; and from accounts elsewhere given, it appears that nothing was omitted in the way of details to make it the exact counterpart of its prototype. Every temple, every sacred pool, every rivulet, every ceremonial, every observance, and every legend of Benares were reproduced at Bhuvaneśvara, and *mutatis mutandis* the description of the one would be a close description of the other. The opportunity seized was probably the revival under that great leader and soldier of the Hindu faith, Yayāti, and it was an appropriate one. Buddhism at the time was most rampant at Benares; the Hindus, who identified it with atheism and vice, naturally wished to transfer their sacred shrines to a place where it had been overcome, and the revival of Hinduism in Orissa under the first prince of the Keśarī dynasty was a fitting occasion, and the dominion of that potentate the most convenient place, for the purpose. The prince himself doubtless gave the first impulse by establishing temples, granting rent-free lands for their support, and otherwise encouraging the followers of Śiva, and the consummation was effected in a very short time. According to the Temple Records of Puri, he commenced the erection of the Great Tower, but did not live long enough to finish it; but there are several temples, such as those of Bhāskareśvara and others, which date from long before the time of the Great Tower. Mere rivalry, apart from sectarian antagonism, has often given rise to counterparts of sacred shrines in distant parts of the country. A temple from some cause or other attains great repute; its presiding divinity becomes noted for working miracles; the flow of pilgrims to it is large; and the influence and emoluments of the officiating priests are enormous. A set of starving priests, or an individual of some sanctity, feels that if the same causes and circumstances which contributed to raise that temple to importance could be brought to bear upon another, that too would derive the same advantages, and a little fraud, some deception, and more delusion, soon realize the object sought, that of rising in wealth and importance; though the sanctity of the new competitor may not be always lasting. Failures are also not unfrequent. A notable instance of such failure is given in the *Skanda Purāṇa*. In the Kāśī Khaṇḍa of that work it is related that Vyāsa was, on one occasion, offended with the treatment he had [65] received at Benares, and

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[24] *Kapila Saṃhitā*, Chap. 11.

en revanche determined to establish a new Benares or Kāśi of his own, opposite the old city, on the right bank of the Ganges. He set about the work in earnest; and in a short time temples, images, priests, and pilgrims,—everything that could contribute to its greatness – were secured, and, to crown the whole, it was given out that, whereas at old Benares a pilgrim must die before he can become a Śiva, in the new place his mere advent would secure absolute emancipation from all mundane ties. This was doubtless a great advantage, and Durgā, seeing that her favourite city was about to be completely eclipsed by so potent a rival in its close neighbourhood, and that she could not prevent the mishap by any fair means, resorted to an artifice. Assuming the form of an old hag, she appeared before Vyāsa, who was then absorbed in meditation, and began to tease him by frequently asking him what would be the reward of dying in the new city. Vyāsa replied several times, that reward of salvation was accorded on the very first entrance of a pilgrim within the sacred boundary, and nothing could be given in excess of it. But Durgā pretended not to hear him, and repeated the question over and over again. Vexed beyond endurance, the sage at last said, "Why, he who would die here would be a donkey for you." This was exactly what the goddess wanted. She immediately assumed her own proper shape, and, in the way of a benediction, said, "Be it so." Vyāsa then opened his eyes, and, beholding the goddess before him, perceived that all his labours had been thrown away, and his great object had been defeated. The name of his city, Vyāsa Kāśi, has ever since been associated with failure. Other instances on the part of priests, sages and princes may be easily multiplied. Some time ago a rich man in Calcutta attempted to establish an Earthly Kailāśa (Bhūkailāśa) in imitation of the heavenly mansion on the crest of Mount Kailāśa, and another, a Secret Vṛndāvana (Gupta Vṛndāvana) as a rival of the holy grove near Mathurā; and in the case of a highly successful prince and revivalist like Yayāti, an attempt of the kind was just the thing that would be most probable. Of course it is not to be assumed that it was during his reign that Śiva worship was first introduced into Orissa, or even into Bhuvaneśvara. As already stated (ante I, Chap. V.) both Śivaism and Vaiṣṇavism had existed in Orissa from a much earlier period than that of Yayāti, and contemporaneously with Buddhism, for there is nothing to show that at any time in the history of Śākya's faith it had completely superseded Hinduism in any province or district; it rose, it prevailed, overpowered Hinduism; but it never, and amidst no large community, completely extirpated it. The origin of phallic worship, as already shown, dates from long before the commencement of Buddhism; and there is no ground to question its existence at Bhuvaneśvara from before the age of Śākya Siṃha; but the sanctification of the place as a favourite abode of Śiva must, I believe, have taken place in the time of Yayāti and his immediate successors. The reference in the extract to the Tretā Yuga, or the second cycle in the history of the earth, is obviously an attempt to invest the origin of the place with the halo of remote antiquity.

Sakta story In accordance with the sectarian tendency of the *Kapila Saṃhitā*, the story quoted above assigns pre-eminence to Viṣṇu, and makes Śiva attain the 'Mango Forest' for his residence as a boon from that divinity. This, however, could not be in keeping with the temper of such ardent Sivites as could not brook the rivalry of Viṣṇu ; they had, therefore, to elaborate tales of their own in which the supremacy of Śiva would not, by any means, be impaired. The most circumstantial of these tales is that which is given in the last book of the *Śiva Purāṇa*. According to it, Pārvatī, while seated by her terrific lord in his ruby mansion at Kāśī, enquired of him whether he had any secret retreat which was like unto the city they were then dwelling in. "Tell me", she said, "O lord, where lies a place sacred to you like unto this,—one as charming, excellent, secret and delightful as this. O Sambhu, tell me where lies such a secret place of yours, be it in heaven, on the earth, in the subterranean regions, or in the sky." Thus said the presiding goddess of Siva's heart, and then with a radiant smile on her lips, holding his feet, prostrated herself on the ground before him in humble salutation.

"Sakṃara raised the lotus-eyed Gaurī from the ground and, kissing her lips bright red as the flower of the pomegranate, repeatedly embraced her with his arms, and seated that mother of the universe on his lap. The blue-eyed Girīśa, then turning towards her, with a smile on his face and trembling lips, said, 'O daughter of the king of mountains, O Devi, you have much adored me, I will therefore, for your gratification, describe to you my *Kṣetra* upon the earth. In the grand Utkala Kṣetra near the southern ocean, there flows a fine river which, taking its source from the foot of the Vindhya mountain, runs towards the east. From it has proceeded a stream, by name *Gandhavatī*, which is identical with Gaṅgā. Here that sin-destroying stream flows northwards ; it is crodwed with geese and wild ducks ; it is adorned with golden lotuses ; it unites with the southern ocean. On its bank there exists, O charming one, a wood sacred to me, which removes all sorts of sins ; it is the holiest of the holy, and known by the name of Ekāmraka.[25] It is resplendent with grandeur of every kind, and the wealth of all the six seasons are ever present there. O Pārvati, that is my *Kṣetra* : it is as gorgeous as Kailāśa, and adorned with trees and creepers, [66] all bearing blossoms of the six different seasons. It is resonant with the sweet notes of birds of various kinds,[26] and beautified by rivers of clean water that are covered with expanded lotus flowers and lilies, having fine steps leading to them. This excellent *kṣetra* of mine, the *Ekāmraka* wood, is difficult to be attained by the gods ; it grants final liberation to all. I have, my darling, described this my secret sanctuary to you for your amusement; it is as excellent as Vārāṇasī, and is adorned with one crore of Liṅgams'.

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[25] The *ka* is pleonastic.

[26] The text gives the names of several of the leading plants and birds of the province, which I have removed from their proper place to this footnote for the convenience of the reader. The plants are : *Tilaka, Karṇikāra, Anva, Amratālia, Nāgaraṅga, Nārikela, Kovidāra, Kanṭakāra, Puga, Aśoka, Kadali, Dumbura, Campaka, Keśara, Nāgakeśara, Ketakī, Āmalaka, Mālatī, Tilaka, Mādhava, Marica, Jāti, Yūti, Mallikā, Karavīra, Karaṇḍaka, Kunda, Mandāraka, Sevanti*, etc. The birds named are : *Śūkas, Śārikas, Kapotas, Śikhīs, Dindibhas, Cakravākas, Cakoras, Jātakukkuṭas, Kadambas and Kalahaṃsas.*

"Pārvatī said, 'O Bhagavan, O Śambhu, I salute thee; O lord of the universe, protect me. Having heard the account of your great *kṣetra*, I am highly gratified, and feel, my dear lord, a longing to see that wood sacred to you. O Vibhu, if you will grant me leave, I wish to go and see it.'

"Siva answered: 'If you are so anxious to see it, you should go there alone, and I will sport with you in shapes (of the different species of animals) that you may assume.[27] Goddess, go yourself first to that purifying place, and I shall follow you with all my retinue.'

"Having heard these words of Īśvara, the fawn-eyed goddess mounted upon a lion, and hastily proceeded to the *Ekāmraka* wood, where, on her arrival, she saw the Svarṇakuṭa mountain as described by Śiva. It was excellent; inhabited by the gods and celestial sages (Siddharṣis); adorned with trees, creepers, groves and lakes; filled with the harmonious voice of different sorts of birds; and charming in every aspect. There, having seen the Liṅgam bearing white, black and red colours, Pārvatī worshipped it with various articles, and, building a dwelling near the Tribhuvaneśvara Liṅgam, became a fixed resident of the place.

"Once on a time she went to an adjoining wood that echoed with the buzz of numberless black bees flying about in quest of honey, and with the notes of cuckoos. In that wood, O Tuṇḍi, she perceived one thousand cows, each of which possessed five teats, and resembled the moon and Kunda flowers in colour. These came out of a lake, poured their milk upon a Liṅgam, and, them circumambulating and saluting it and looking around them, returned to the water. Her eyes expanded with wonder at the sight, and she desired to bring the cows home for gratifying Śiva. When on the next day, those milch cows come to worship that excellent Liṅgam, the daughter of the king of mountains, seeing them, through her faith in Śiva, obstructed them with a stick, and brought them to her abode.

"Having thus brought them home, O Muni, that mother of the world left her form, assumed the shape of a cowherdess, milked them, and faithfully bathed the Tribhuvaneśvara Liṅgam, which highly gratified her. In this manner, to her great delight, she continued to bathe the *liṅgam* daily, and to worship it with five kinds of flowers for fifteen years. After that, O Tuṇḍi, a great demon, by name Kīrti, and his brother Vāsa, both very wicked, came to the place. They were endowed with great personal beauty and the glow of youth; they wore fine earrings, fine clothes and wreaths of flowers; and were redolent with exquisite perfume. They saw Devī in her assumed shape of a cowherdess, possessed of a face resembling the moon in resplendence, with fully developed person and protuberant breasts, bearing a fair complexion, and endowed with

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[27] An evident imitation of the myth of Uṣā and Prajāpati, but without retaining their allegorical meaning. See the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, and the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad.*

Vimba-like lips and fawn-like eyes. Overpowered by lust, they addressed their blandishments to her. In a sweet and tender voice and with clasped hands they said, 'Who art thou, O thou possessed of a face resembling the orb of the moon, thou that art ravishing our heart? Thou inflicter of pain at first sight, art thou a divine songstress, (Gandharvī) or a princess, or the daughter of the ocean? Art thou of exquisite form, the mistress of Kāma? Art thou Rati? Or the charmer of Indra's heart (Śacī)? Do, we beseech thee, deign to tell us who thou art.'

"The cowherdess replied, 'I am not the daughter of the ocean, nor Rati, nor the daughter of Pulomā (Śacī); neither am I the wife of a (Gandharva), nor a princess. I am a simple cowkeeper who herd the cows of my lord (Vibhu).'

"They returned, 'O beloved of men, do you gratify us who are so anxious to enjoy your fine eyebrows and smiles? By being bathed with the sweat of your body, Jīva and Īśvara are as it were bathed in the water of the Ganges.'

"The Gopī rejoined, 'Shame to ye both whose minds are so much given to wicked inclinations as to desire to possess the wife of another. I am not such a woman as would become your mistress. Both of you shall positively be hurled to the mansion of Yama in a short time for your wickedness.' So saying and deluding those two demons, suddenly she disappeared from their sight like a flash of lightning. When they observed her vanish, their eyes expanded through wonder, and they said to each other, 'See, whose wife is this girl?' Knowing their intentions, the daughter of the mountain, with a face charming as the lotus, meditated upon Mahādeva residing at Kāśī. Whereupon that lord and benefactor of the universe resolved to leave Nandīśvara [67] and the rest of his goblin host (Pramatha Gaṇas) at Benares, and go to her. Tender in person as the indigo-coloured lotus, having eyes resembling the Vimba fruit, wearing a yellow garment and holding a flute, with his head adorned with Guñjas, Śiva started on his trip. Arrived at the Ekāmra wood, which was crowded with trees and fanned by the wind, purified by shaking the lotus flowers in the river Gaṅgā, and carrying particles of sandal from the Malaya mountain, the enemy of Manmatha began to play on his flute. The harmonious sound of Śaṃkara's flute was (attentively) heard by cows, deer, peacocks, koels, sārakas, and other animals who stood rapped in horripilation by his charming music. Seeing her husband come in the shape of a cow-keeper the three-eyed Pārvatī exclaimed, 'Who is this,,' and laughed. She then, with a mild countenance and a smile that surpassed ambrosia in sweetness, asked him, 'Who are you that are come here dressed in yellow?' He, with a smile, replied to that female Gopa whose face was like the orb of the moon, 'Who are you! O daughter of a Gopa, who is so compassionate as to speak such sweet to me?' The goddess, hearing these words, fell upon the feet of that holder of the flute, and said, 'I am the wife of him who art the lord of Gokula. Make me thy maid by bestowing on me the nectar of your Vimba-like lips. I have come here according to your desire, and am persecuted by two demons; destroy those enemies of the gods, and tell me how am I to adore you.'

"Śaṅkara answered, 'There lived on the earth, in former times, a king, in Drumila, who performed many sacrifices in course of which he presented immense riches to the officiating priests, whereby the gods being pleased with him, said to him from the sky, "O king, ask any boon that you desire in your heart." He replied, "Let my two sons, O gods, be indestructible by males and weapons." The gods told him in reply, "Be it so." Do you, O dear and fawn-eyed one, destroy them in disguise.'

"Vāmadeva continued : thus commanded by Śiva, Devī, in the habit of a cowherdess, went to gather flowers in the wood that had fine creepers in it, when at the sight of the fawn-eyed damsel, the two demons with clasped hands thus addressed her: 'O Devi, O most propitious, you are become (as it were) our life, we have long desired to possess you.' The cowherdess answered, 'O resplendent ones, I have a vow to observe; do you hear it ? Having fulfilled it, you may make me your spouse. Whoever, after I have placed my feet on his shoulders or on his head, may be able to raise me from the ground, shall have me for his wife.'

"Delighted at these words of the cowherdess, the two sons of demons attempted to raise her, and, bending their heads, requested her to put her feet on them. She pressed down the two powerful demons Kīrti and Vāsa with her feet ; the daughter of the mountain also fought a great battle with them there and then, again pressed them with her legs whereby they, being hurt, fell senseless on the ground. The daughter of the mountain then crushed the two demons with her feet, and they, having lost their lives, entered into the subterraneous region. At the spot on which they fell, Devī formed a fine *hrada* or lake."

[68] At first sight it might appear that this tale is not opposed to that of the *Kapila Saṃhitā* ; for it may be argued that it does not openly deny Śiva's having originally come to know of the existence of the Mango Tope from Nārada, and having obtained permission from Viṣṇu to dwell in it ; but it simply makes Śiva impart a knowledge of it to Pārvatī to gratify her curiosity. It should be noticed, however, that according to the Kapila version of the story, Śiva goes to Viṣṇu along with Pārvatī, and the goddess could not therefore be ignorant of its existence, and of the pledge given by her lord to abide there along with her, and consequently the question to her lord and its reply cannot be in accord with her previous knowledge. It is to be noted further that the *Śiva Purāṇa* is not even in accord with itself for, in direct contradiction of the above story, elsewhere it gives a different version of how Pārvatī came to know of the place. There it is Brahmā, and not her lord, who gives her the information. Curious to know, as all loving wives are, the secret retreats of her husband, she asks Brahmā for information, and is informed of the whereabouts and of the merits of the sacred spot. The stories are of no value, and are of interest only as illustrating the different ways in which the Hindus have attempted to sanctify for their purpose a Buddhist locality.

Vindu Sagara :—The lake referred to above is identified by the people with a large sheet of water in the centre of the town. (See plate XXVIII). It is called *Gosāgara*, because it was in this tank that the Devī is supposed to have led her bovine flock to water. But its popular name is *Vindu Sāgara*, so called from a statement, in the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* that drops (*Vindu*) from all the sacred pools on earth, in heaven, in the lower regions, as also of nectar, wine, holy butter and all that is most delectable constantly fall into it. The Purāṇa in question however is not in accord with the *Śiva Purāṇa* regarding the origin of it. According to it, it was Śiva, not Pārvatī, who caused it to be excavated. The *Śiva Purāṇa* itself [69] however, is not in accord with itself, for elsewhere it too assigns the origin of the lake to Śaṃkara ; and this opinion is adopted by the *Brāhmya*, the *Brahmāṇḍa*, the *Padma* and the other *Purāṇas*. The discordance is explained away by the assertion that it was at the request of the Devī that Saṃkara caused the lake to be prepared. The derivation of the name is given in the same way in all the authorities named.

That the tank is a very ancient one, there can be no question ; but if the arguments adduced in a preceding chapter about the town of Bhuvaneśvara having been the metropolis of Aira be admitted, it may fairly be asked—is not the tank, said in the Hāthi Gumphā inscription to have been "consecrated" by Aira, the same with the one now under notice ? It is the only large tank in the place, and at one time had flights of stone steps on all the four sides ; and, as a large tank cannot readily disappear, and, associated with religion, is most likely to be preserved with care, the assumption is by no means unreasonable : at least there is nothing to disprove that it is the same. The inscription says that tank was "consecrated" by Aira, and not excavated, so it must be older than his time. It was most probably an old and sacred tank in his time, so he, as a usurper, thought the improving of it with flights of steps, in an arid plain having no adequate water-supply, would be an act well calculated to win the good-will of the people. The antiquity of the tank is vouched for by a verse in the *Vana Parva* of the *Mahābhārata*, where it is said that Yudhiṣṭhira, during his pilgrimage, visited the place, and bathed in the sacred pool of Vindu Hrada. It should be added, however, that the verse does not occur in the Asiatic Society's printed edition, nor in six MSS. which I have consulted. Were it otherwise, still it should be remarked that the descriptions of sacred pools in the *Mahābhārata* are of doubtful authenticity. The antiquity and authority of the great epic have been, in India, universally admitted from a very long time, and it was an object with all who wished to raise the character of any particular place of sanctity, to give its name a place in the *Mahābhārata*, and the interpolation of a verse or two was by no means a difficult task, at a time when printing was unknown, and MSS. exceedingly rare.

The tank, as it now stands, measures 1300 x 700 feet, having an average depth of 16 feet ; the water, in the month of November, when I saw it was six feet deep. All its four sides were originally lined with blocks of laterite, so arranged as to form magnificent flights of steps. On the south side these steps are still in a good state of preservation. On the east and the west, for half the length in continuation of the south side, they are still *ni situ,* but beyond that, they have fallen down into the bed of the tank. On the north side, the whole of the stone embankment has fallen down, except about twenty feet in the middle, which forms a ghat on that side, leading from a group of small temples there to the water. The place is sheltered by several large mango trees, and is generally selected as the encamping-ground for such Europeans as occasionally visit the town.

In the centre of the tank there is a large island, protected by a stone revetment. (See plates XXVIII and XXXV). This is a feature common to almost all the larger tanks in Orissa, and adds greatly to the beauty of these artificial lakes. The Vindu Sāgara island measures 110 x 100, and has a small temple on the north-east corner of it. Before the temple there is a terrace with an artificial fountain in the centre. On the south-east corner, opposite to the terrace, there is a small pavilion supporting the reservoir of the fountain. Counterparts of this pavilion, but of dissimilar make, occur at the south-west and the north-west corners. On the occasion of the Bathing festival an image of Viṣṇu is brought to the temple, and, by holding the thumb against the jet of the fountain, the water is directed towards the image, and a shower-bath is effected to the wonder of the faithful, who look upon the feat as a miracle. There is no stop-cock attached to the pipe of the fountain anywhere, and a bit of rag is used to plug in the jet when the fountain is not required to be in play. On other than festive occasions, none visits the island, except crocodiles of which there are several in the tank, and which resort to it when disposed to bask in the sun, or to improve the flavour of their piscine food by leaving it there to rot. When I came to it, it was covered with jungle, and contained large accumulations of scales, bones and other remains of fish. It appeared from some remains I noticed, that, though bones are thoroughly digested by crocodiles, scales, in a great measure, resist the solvent powers of the gastric juice of those animals. The people in the neighbourhood told me that the reptiles never attack any human being, and men, women and children bathe in the tank at all hours of the day without any risk. I saw many little boys swimming lustily at a great distance from the banks, which are crowded by women who come, morning and evening, for their supply of drinking water.

The tank is fed by one or more natural fountains at the bottom ; but the water is anything but pure. It is of a dull green colour, and full of confervæ and animalcule, which, however, in the eyes of the faithful enhance its merit. Kept in a large **[70]** vessel in a quiet corner, protected from drafts of wind, the water is found to be in motion for hours, and a small flower or two, left floating on it, move about in circles. The motion is of course due to the animalcules, probably also to the confervæ ; but as this is not manifest to the unsophisticated pilgrims and the ignorant people of the neighbourhood, supernatural power is appealed to as the cause of the motion.

The religious merit of the water is lauded in the highest terms. The *Padma Purāṇa* says, "The person who bathes in the sacred pool of the Vindusāra, and then beholds the lord of the three regions (Tribhuvaneśvara) cleanses himself of all sin, and finally retires to the region of light," (*jyotirloka*). The *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* repeats the verse, with a slight variation, confining the reward "to the destruction of the accumulated sins of many former existences." The *Śiva Purāṇa* assigns the same reward, and the *Kapila Saṃhitā* changes it to "inexhaustible virtue." The *Brahma Purāṇa* does the same. The

Ekāmra Purāṇa, being devoted exclusively to the merits of the sacred places of Bhuvaneśvara, is of course more profuse in its praises, and more detailed in its direction as to the proper times for bathing in the tank. According to it, "The man, who, restraining his passions, on the day of either of the equinoxes, bathes in this pool and drinks its waters, purifies himself of all sins committed, either wittingly or unwittingly. Those who, after bathing here, devoutly offer a funeral cake (*piṇḍa*) on the first day of the sun's motion, either to the north or to the south, repair to the region of the sun. The day of the eclipse of the sun or the moon, is known to be highly auspicious (for the purpose); it destroys all sins and all fears. Whoever bathes in the pure lake on the 14th of the wane, goes to the region of Śiva through the blessings of Kīrtivāsa. He who does so on the 8th of the waxing moon, in the month of Mārgaśirṣa, (Oct.-Nov.) attains the merit of performing an Atirātra ceremony. He who bathes in it on the 14th of the moon regularly for a year, repairs to that excellent place where dwells the lord of Haimavatī. The sages have ordained that a single bath in the Vindu Sāgara is equal in merit to the bathing in the noble Puṣkara for a hundred winters, or four times at Kurukṣetra. Bathing continuously for four times seven Yugas, during the eclipses of the sun and the moon at Benares, is unquestionably equivalent to a single bath in the 'lake formed of drops.' Whatever merits may be acquired by annual pilgrimages to the source of the Ganges (Gaṅgādvāra), to Prayāga, or where the Ganges pours into the sea, (Gangāsāgara) repeated for ten years, may be acquired by a single bath in the Vindusāra, and the adoration of the great lord (Maheśvara) through the grace of Kīrtivāsa." The *Kapila Saṃhitā* is equally profuse in its praises, and adds that "the drinking of the water confers the dignity of Śiva, and that dignity lasts as long as the sun."

The *Ekāmra Candrikā* gives the details of ceremonies to be observed when bathing in this tank, including a Śrāddha and a Tarpaṇa, or offering of water and edibles for the benefit of the manes, and every pious Hindu has to go through the ceremonies whenever he visits the place. The details, however, are of no interest, and it is unnecessary to quote them here.

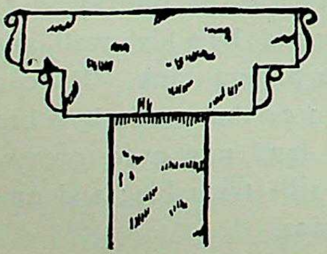
Immediately after bathing in the tank, the pilgrim is required to visit the temple of Viṣṇu which stands to the east of it. The spot is supposed to mark the place where Śiva waited upon Viṣṇu for his permission to abide at Bhuvaneśvara (ante, p. [63]). I shall, however, depart from this rule, and describe the Great Tower of Tribhuvaneśvara first.

The Great Tower, Courtyard and gates :—The largest edifice at Bhuvaneśvara is the Great Tower. It stands amidst a large courtyard surrounded by a high wall, and is about 300 yards distant from, and to the south of, the Vindu Sāgara tank. The courtyard is bounded on the east by the road leading to Kapileśvara; on the north, by a broad highway called *Barādaṇḍ*; on the south by a large spot of land now overgrown with jungle, but formerly the site of a palace whose remains are still traceable; and on the west by several small temples and their courtyards, mostly in ruins.

The area forming the courtyard of the Great Tower measures 520 x 465 feet, with a 28 feet projection on the north side. The projected portion measures 235 feet, and the receding sides 115 feet each The wall surrounding this area is built of partially dressed laterite blocks, and is 7 feet 5 inches thick. It is plain on both sides but below the coping there is a simple moulding, with two rows of lancet-heads, one looking downwards and the other upwards. The coping is sloping, and projects about six inches, to throw the rain water off the surface of the wall ; but the top is flat, and, terraced with a cover of concrete plastered with *chunam*, forms a good broad road. Access to this courtyard is had by three doorways, of which [71] that on the south is small and commonplace, a mere opening with a pair of folding doors. The northern one is larger and surmounted by a propyllon of small size (see plate XXX). The eastern one is the largest. It is 31 feet broad, covered by a large propyllon, and guarded on each side by a large figure of a lion-rampant (Plate XXXII). The style of the propyllon is the same as that of Orissan porches—a quadrangular structure with a pyramidal roof in nine tiers. The edges of the roofs are, as usual in all mediaeval Orissan buildings, set off with lancet-headed crests ; and the top surmounted by a ribbed dome and a vase-shaped finial. Altogether the structure is about 50 feet in height. The side walls are broken, each by a set of threefold projections relieved by pilasters and niches, and having a series of longitudinal bands. The plinth also is decorated with a succession of longitudinal bands. There are no carvings in any part of the structure. The lions are of the conventional type with dog-like faces, and remarkable only for their size.

At the north-east corner of the wall there is a small pavilion, built of stones on the top of the wall, and accessible by a flight of stone steps from the inside. The structure was erected at the same time as the wall, and appears to have been intended for a *Nuhabat-khāna* or music-room ; but it is now used for religious purposes. It is called *Bhet Maṇḍapa* and an image of Pārvatī is placed in it to offer welcome to Bhuvaneśvara, the lord of the universe, on his return after the car festival.

Along the inner side of the surrounding walls there is raised berm twenty feet high. It originally served the means of enabling the people to defend the temple-enclosure from outside attack ; but latterly, it would seem, that idea was given up, and the inner edge of the terrace was protected by a revetment, and measures were taken to build a range of rooms all round. This plan, however, was never carried out, except on the north-east corner where a long range of rooms have been erected to serve as a kitchen. Some of the rooms are large, and divided into a nave and two aisles, by two ranges of pillars having bracket capitals. The capitals are formed of two blocks placed one over the other as shown in the margin (Woodcut No. 2), and not crucially as is so common in Buddhist buildings. In one of the aisles there is a very well-executed figure of Nṛsiṃha, done in black chlorite. The area of the berm is left unpaved, but that of the courtyard below it is paved with flags of granite.



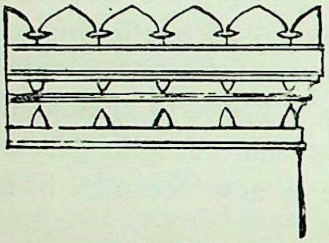
No. 2.

On the west side from the middle to about half way to the corner of the courtyard there is, on either side, a large temple of the usual Orissan style and designed for a *liṅgam*. Though now entirely neglected, they are still in a fair state of preservation (see plate XXXI). Close by these there are several small temples, and the courtyard generally is studded by a large number of temples varying in height from 6 to 30 feet, and built in different styles, some with pointed, others with flat roof, but of no importance either historically or as works of art. One of them, however, is worthy of note, as it is probably the oldest building in the courtyard, considerably older than even the Great Tower. It is a plain, modest-looking structure, about 20 feet high, with an inside area of six feet a side, and having the stump of a sandstone pillar doing duty for a *liṅgam*. The room is five feet six inches below the level of the courtyard, and it shows that the level of the ground round about the Great Tower must have been much lower, and must have been raised to its present height when the Tower was erected. Under ordinary circumstances, it would have been easy to demolish the little structure when the big one was set up, or to renew it on a higher level ; but, according to the Śāstras, a *liṅgam*, once fixed to the ground, should never be removed ; for such removal would be tantamount to the destruction of all sanctity in the *liṅgam* and an act of the grossest desecration. It is usual, therefore, in every part of India, never to disturb a *liṅgam* ; and as the one under notice was probably held to be of great sanctity, it had to be allowed to remain in its place, though the ground outside its fane was raised, and the arrangement of the place completely changed. The chamber of the temple is now accessible by a flight of three steps.

Bhagavati's Temple :—On the western side close by the corner there is a magnificent temple dedicated to Bhagavati It was erected during the reign of Vijaya Keśarī, i e, about two centuries after the erection of the Great Tower. It marks the first step towards the spread of the sexual doctrine of the Tāntric Vāmācārīs which originally did not form a part of the Śivite system at Bhuvaneśvara. All the old temples were dedicated to Śiva in the form of a plain *liṅgam*, a more or less cylindrical mass of stone, without any carving or ornamentation, or mystic symbol. But in the later forms, the cylinder was fixed on a loop-shaped horizontal stone, rounded at one end and more or less pointed at the other, and having two or three encircling lines on the top. This was called the Yoni. This, however, did not saisfy the followers of the Vāmācāra system, and a distinct female figure, to serve as the consort of the *liṅgam*, was held essential, and the temple under notice was erected to supply a local habitation for the wife of the presiding divinity of the Great Tower.

The temple of Bhagavatī is a twofold structure, including a temple proper, and a distinct porch joined to the sanctum by a lobby. Both were built at the same time, and most elaborately sculptured in the richest and most florid style of Orissan art. The statuettes, basreliefs and floral bands on it are in every respect equal to the best of their kind to be seen in [72] Bhuvaneśvara. Its material being brick-red sandstone, much warmer in tint than that of the stone used in the erection of the Great Tower, it looks particularly rich. The temple, however, is so surrounded on every side by minor temples and dead walls that it cannot be seen to advantage from any side, and in its present position is entirely lost to observers. Some of its details have been figured in the plates annexed to the first volume of this work (See plate X, fig. 20 ; plate XIV, figs. 33 and 34 ; plate XV, figs 37 and 39 ; plate XVI, fig. 45). The presiding divinity of the sanctuary is the goddess Durgā mounted on a lion. Offerings of water and flowers are made to her daily, but in a perfunctory manner.

Courtyard in front :—Entering the enclosure from the propyllon on the east, the visitor first comes to a paved courtyard, 65 feet long from east to west, and 50 feet broad from the north to the south. It is paved with stones, and is perfectly clear of incumbrances except three little mounds on the right hand side, close by the gateway. Beyond, on the right and left it is flanked by several dissimilar small temples of different dates, and of no importance. One of them, a flatroofed one, has a parapet of a peculiar construction, the like of which occurs only on the top of the Nāṭ Mandir. It is formed of a series of crest-tiles not unlike Saracenic battlements and somewhat similar to the Norman Tudor flowers (see Woodcut No. 3). The temple is dedicated to Gopālinī, or the goddess Durgā in the form of a cowherdess, the same who destroyed the demons Kīrti and Vāsa, (see ante, pp. [66-7]. To the west of it there is a flight of six stone steps, each 48 feet 7 inches long, and 3 feet 6 inches broad, the total height of the steps being four feet. This court shows the original level of the ground to have been same with that of the little temple noticed above : it is just 3 feet below the level of the road outside. Above the steps to the base of the foremost building of the Great Tower the distance is 22 feet, and the area is conterminous with the area on the other sides. On the centre of it, right in front of the gateway, but a little to the left of the central entrance of the foremost building, there is a monolithic column 2 feet in diameter and 20 feet high, surmounted by a bull-couchant. The plinth of this column is square ; it has no base moulding of any kind, and its capital is perfectly plain ; being formed alternately of two cavetoes and two tiles. In style it bears no relation to the building around it, and is evidently of a comparatively modern date, erected long after the Great Tower and its enclosure.



No.3.

Bhoga Mandapa :—The Tower includes a suite of four buildings standing in file. The foremost of these is called *Bhoga Maṇḍapa* or the refectory ; next, the Nāṭ Mandir or dancing hall ; then the *Mohan* or the porch ; and lastly the *Dewul* or the temple proper (Plate XLVIII). Of these the last two were built at the same time, and in a style quite different from the other two which were built long after, but at different times, and on different plans. The foremost building, was erected during the reign of Kamala Keśarī between the years 792 to 811 A. D. It was originally designed as an open pillared chaultry, for the reading of the scriptures and the delivery of lectures and sermons by learned paṇḍits. It stands on a ground-plot 60 feet square, of which two feet all round form a berm two feet broad and 3 feet high. The top of this berm is paved with stones, and the sides, forming the plinth of the whole structure, are most elaborately sculptured in low relief. The surface is divided into panels by intervening pilasters, and filled up with the images of men, women, animals, temples and bouquets ; some of the representations being disgustingly obscene. Above the plinth, there is a broad ornamental band set off with the images of lines of pigeons, geese, ducks, horses, elephants, cattle and camels, very spiritedly carved in good relief. These, however, had never been completely finished. In several places the outlines are all that were punched, but not worked out. Some of the panels also bear indications of the same fact.

The area of the building above the plinth is a square of 56 feet a side. Originally it was colonnaded all round, each side having five openings. The central opening on the east was intended for the main entrance. Three mean-looking steps lead to this entrance, and it is flanked by two piers. The width of the opening originally was 8 feet 8 inches, and was spanned by a five-cusped Jain arch crowned by two human figures This arch, like several other parts of the building, was never finished, as the left half of it is decorated with a scroll work, while the right one is left perfectly plain. The piers are elbowshaped, the projecting end having a round, the bend between the two arms also a round, and the outer end a square, pillar. On either side of the entrance there were two openings formed by a line of three pillars spanned by a stone architrave. Thus the side comprised two piers and ten pillars, each 13 feet 5 inches high. This arrangement was repeated on the other three sides, and in the middle of the room were four compound pillars, each formed of four richly carved columns, for the support of the roof. The roof is pyramidal ; it rises in a slope from the cornice, which is 3 feet deep. At a height of about 6 feet, the roof is edged by four tiers of cornice. Then follows another slope edged with three tiers of cornice. Then another slope, and over it a perpendicular neck with lancet-headed cornice surrounding a flat roof. From the centre of the last rises a short neck supporting the pinnacle (Plate XXXIII). In this form the structure had a light, airy, elegant appearance ; and altogether the place was well suited for the purpose for which it was designed. But the architect was out in his reckoning of the strength of the architraves and of the weight of the roof placed over them ; and in a short time some of the architraves cracked, and the **[73]** pillars showed signs of being crushed down. It became necessary, therefore, to close the openings, except the central one on each side, with solid masonry walls, and to strengthen the central groups of columns by building them up so as to form solid square pillars. The width of the central openings had also to be reduced by side piers, and the arches to be supported on iron lintels. The new walls have bas-reliefs and carved stones stuck into them, but without any taste, order, or plan ; and they serve only to disfigure what was originally a handsome work of art. Thus the original open pavilion was converted into a closed dark room ; and it, being no longer fit for a lecture-room, was appropriated for a refectory. Offerings of cooked food are now placed in it thrice a day,—away from the sanctuary, in which the space available is too limited for the display of any large number of trays of rice and curry. This arrangement also obviates the necessity of profuse and frequent washings of the sanctuary, which the contact of dressed rice would otherwise have rendered imperative. This objection not applying to offerings of flowers, fruits and sweetmeats, they are carried to the sanctuary.

Nat Mandir :—Immediately to the west of the refectory and abutting it is the Nāṭ Mandir or Dancing Hall, whence the divinity of the Tower is entertained with music, singing and dancing It is of a somewhat later date than the last, having been erected by the queen of Sālini Keśarī, who reigned from A.C. 1099 to 1104. Its ground-plot is a square of 52 feet a side. It has a berm 2 feet broad and 3 feet high on its north side, and a corresponding one on the south side, but none on the east or the west. The front of the berm is carved, as that of the berm of the Bhoga Maṇḍapa, but the designs are different. Instead of panels filled with animal and human forms, it is covered with effigies of temples, each having a human figure seated in its middle, very like what is seen in Buddhist votive *caityas*, and the broad band on the top is replaced by a series of plain mouldings. The walls from the berm to cornice of the building are 20 feet high, and pierced by three doorways, except on the east side whence there is only one door leading to the Bhoga Maṇḍapa. The central doorway is 14 feet high, and the side ones 10 feet. The outer face of the walls is set off with a series of polygonal pilasters as shown in the annexed lithograph (XXXIII). The doors are modern, and most shabbily put together. On the west side the central one, however, is an old one, made of sandal-wood panels, most delicately carved, and strengthened and decorated with brass bosses, (*ante* I, p. [36]). The cornice of the building is flat, and three feet deep. The roof is sloping, and formed of four tiers, (each edged with a series of lancet-headed acrotarias), and terminating at the top in small square flat plot surrounded by Saracenic battlements. The roof is supported in the middle by four square pillars, and several iron beams. In the interior face, the room has no ornaments of any kind, except a rich framing of chlorite round the central doorway on the west side. The design of this beautiful piece of work is the counterpart of that Koṇārak gateway, of which a photograph is annexed (Plate LVII). On the left jamb of this door there are two inscriptions, one in Uriya and the other in Sanskrit; but neither of these affords any information regarding the age of the building. On the eastern wall there are two niches, one of which contains an image of the androgynous Harapārvatī.

Mohan :—The next building of the group is the Mohan or Porch. It is of the same age and style as the Tower itself, and was planned and built at the same time. According to the temple records of Puri, the foundation of this building was laid in the reign of Yayāti Keśarī who wrested Orissa from the hands of the so-called Yavanas (ante, p.[58]), and re-established Hinduism on the ruins of Buddhism. The prince reigned from 474 to 526, but the foundation having been laid at about the close of his reign, he did not live long enough to finish the temple. His successor Sūrya Keśarī, during his long reign, seems to have done nothing for the temple, but Ananta who followed him, pushed on work, and it was completed in the reign of Lalāṭendu Keśarī, *alias* Alāvu Keśarī. The date of completion, I find from a *śloka* quoted in a Ms. diary of my late father, to be Śaka 588. The *śloka* is said, in the diary, to be a transcript of an inscription on the temple of Bhuvaneśvara; but I failed to trace it on the temple. Lalāṭendu, however, reigned from 623 to 677, and there is no improbability in the date recorded. From corner to corner the Porch measures 65 feet by 45 feet, but the sides are broken by three-fold projections, as shewn in the ground-plan (Plate XLVIII). Unlike the two preceding, it has been so built as to appear rising from the ground without the intervention of any separate plinth or surrounding berm. The lowest part of the walls is shaped like a plain tile, a foot thick, and on it are ranged a series of pitchers in high relief, forming the stylobate (Vol. I *ante*, Plate IV). From each of these pitchers rises a highly ornamented pilaster so as to divide the surface into niches, which are filled with *alto rilievo* figures of men, women and lions. The decorations are of the most sumptuous character, and the ornaments have been put in with lavish profusion. To describe them in detail, would require more space than I can spare, and even then the description would fail to convey a correct idea of the structure. [74] I must content myself, therefore, by referring the reader to the annexed photograph of a part of the southern facade of the building (Plate XXXIV). It includes the whole of the central projection of the building and portions of the side ones. The doorway in the centre, seen in the photograph, was originally closed by six mullion bars, each bearing the figure of a *danseuse*. On the north side these mullions are still *in situ*, but on the south three of the bars were, sometime ago, removed to form a doorway for the convenience of the priests, who found the passage through the Nāṭ Mandir circuitous and tiresome. Three of the bars are still in position, and they are well shown in the photograph. The spaces between the bars had been originally left open for the admission of light; but the light admitted by the doorway being more than enough, the openings were subsequently closed, and on the north side a thin partition was built on the inner side, so as to convert the space between the bars and the partition wall,—an area equal to the thickness of the wall of the building,—into a small chamber.

The cornice is flat, and projects 4 feet. The roof is pyramidal like that of the Bhoga Maṇḍapa, and formed of receding ledges. It is divided into two tiers by a narrow perpendicular neck. The lower tier has nine ledges, and the upper one six. The edges of these ledges are elaborately carved, and set off at short intervals by lancet-headed finials. The subjects on the edges include processions of horses, elephants, camels, cattle, and troops of infantry and cavalry. Two of these processions have been figured in the first volume of this work (Plate XIII), and they show the outlines of these figures to be bold, and the execution remarkably good. The projections of the ledges correspond with those of the ground plan, but without the recesses shown there. The central projection of each tier has a pediment of the usual Orissan pattern (see Vol. I, plate XXXIII) flanked by model temples, and crowned with the statue of a lion seated on its hind quarters. The roof above the upper tier is flat, and from the centre of it rises a cylindrical neck supporting the pinnacle, which is a repetition of what occurs on the Bhoga Maṇḍapa except in the sloping ribbed form under the Amlaśilā. On the Bhoga Maṇḍapa this from is single, whereas on the Mohan it is doubled (See Plate XXX). Though the walls are thick enough to support any amount of weight that might be put on it, the corbelling of the roof being too rapid, or not sufficiently gradual, to throw the whole weight of the roof on the walls, a great deal of its middle portion needed additional support, and this has been provided by four massive square pillars, dividing the area of the room into a nave and two side aisles. The pillars are 30 feet high, perfectly plain, and the space between the front wall on the east, and the two foremost pillars have been partitioned by flying walls, leaving a passage from the door to the nave, and forming two side rooms.

Close by the southern entrance on the left hand side there is a square chamber with a pyramidal roof, which, from the outlines of ornaments punched on it, appears to have been originally designed for an elaborate piece of workmanship, but was never finished. The room contains several small brazen images, which are carried about on ceremonial occasions as substitutes of the presiding divinity of the Great Tower. In front of the last, on the right hand side of the entrance to the porch, a pillared chaultry was undertaken, but forsaken after the columns had been built to the height of four feet. Its area is now covered over with a thatch. On the north side, right in front of the mullioned window and close by it there is a large temple, and several small ones close by it.

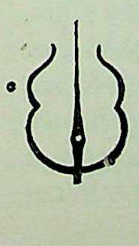
The Great Tower :—Abutting the Mohan on the west side stands the Great Tower. Its ground-plot is of the same dimensions as that of the Porch, except as regards the central projections which on the north and the south sides are broader, and on the west narrower, than those of the latter. The plinth is modelled into a series of pitchers as shown at the base of the pilaster figured on plate IV of Volume I (Fig 6), and thereupon rises a series of pilasters so as to divide the surface of the body into a number of niches of the same character as on the Porch. Each projection has a central large niche, with small ones above and on the sides. These niches give the appearance of a three-storeyed building to the facade. The recesses also have niches, but not nearly so elaborate, nor flanked with side pilasters. The lower niches on the central projection of each side is the largest and grandest Its side pilaster is shown on Plate IV, Vol. I. The niche is deep, and forms the resting-place for a large statue slightly taller than life size. On the north side the statue is that of Bhagavatī, the spouse of the presiding divinity of the Tower (See Vol. I, plate XIX, fig. 142), on the west that of Kārtika, his eldest son (Vol I, Plate XIX, fig. 63), and on the south that of Gaṇeśa, his second born (Vol I, Plate XVIII, fig. 61). For the protection of these figures from the weather, an open pavilion has been built in front of each ; but these structures are of a much later date, and not at all in keeping with the style of the Tower. They are ugly in shape, totally devoid of ornaments, and serve only to intercept the view of the majestic edifice before which they stand.

The niches on the side projections, though not quite so elaborate as the central one, are by no means wanting in ornament. One of these, figured in volume I of this work (Plate XXXI), will show that they were conceived and worked out with great taste and elegance. They are, however, not so deep as the central one, and the images carved on them are in bas-relief. **[75]** The niches on the corner projections are smaller and less sumptuous than the last, they serve as receptacles of the eight guardian divinities of the quarters, commonly called Dikpālas. These are Indra for the east ; Agni for the south-east ; Yama for the south ; Nirriti for the south-west ; Varuṇa for the west ; Marut for the north-west, Kuvera for the north ; and Īśa for the north-east. In the

Purāṇas two others are named, Brahmā for the upper regions; and Ananta for the lower; but these could not be provided for on the sides of the temple without offending the rules of the Śāstra.

The recesses between the projections have also their niches, but these are of a modest character and of simple forms. The figures designed for these are rampant lions, mostly like the one figured in Vol. I (Plate XX, figs. 65 *b* and *c*); and statues, 5 feet high, of men and women in different positions. Some of the figures are placed singly, and intended to represent dancing girls; others are in couples standing in an amatory mood (Vol. I, plate XVIII, fig. 58). Some of the last are so grossly obscene that it is impossible to describe them. Their number, however, is not large. Some of them have been mutilated, and others removed, leaving the niches empty. A few occur on the horizontal bands which separate the three tiers of niches. Domestic scenes such as have been described in Vol. I, p. [106] (Plate XXXIII), are in bas-relief introduced below the pediments over the niches, and also on small panels on the piers. They are generally of small size not more than a foot in height, and now so disfigured as not to admit of our judging how they were originally executed. The statues were prepared in the atelier of the artists, and then put in their respective positions; but the bas-reliefs and panels were all carved *in situ*.

The body of the Tower is about fifty-five feet high, and, omitting the side projections, forms a cube on the ground plan. Over this rises the spire but without the interposition of a cornice or other structure to mark the transition from the body to the spire. The horizontal mouldings which run over the topmost tier of niches are, however, so discontinued as to indicate where the former ends and the latter begins. The projections of the body, though gradually reduced in depth and breadth, are carried along the whole height, and are crossed by horizontal bands as on the upper part of the body; but they have no niches. The central band has at its base a large pediment of the coat-of-arms pattern, and its sides are flanked by a string of model temples in basso-rilievo which rise to the base of the crown. Just above the pediment there is a statue of a lion-rampant, projecting from the wall; and at the top a small window like opening which was probably intended to throw light into the interior, and promote its ventilation. The lions are peculiar to Orissa, and no large temple of any pretension, is without them. The top of the spire is flat, and from the centre of it rises a cylindrical neck supporting a ribbed dome, over which is placed the pinnacle or *kalasa*. As additional supports to the dome there are under it twelve statues of lions seated on their haunches. The pinnacle is shaped like a Grecian urn, and a drawing of it has been given in the 1st volume of this work (See fig. 151, Plate XXXIV). Over the last is a massive iron trident with one straight and two curved prongs as shown in the woodcut on the margin, and not, as is ordinarily the case, with three straight prongs. It has now only two prongs, one of the side ones having been knocked off, I was told, by lighting. To the trident is attached a large flag-staff; and the flag on it, a triangular piece of yellow calico, is



renewed whenever a pious pilgrim can be induced to defray the cost of a new one.

The height of the temple from the paved court-yard to the top of the Kalasa is 160 feet, but as the floor of the temple is two feet lower than the courtyard and it is to be presumed that when the temple was built, the courtyard was lower than the floor, the total height originally must have been about 165 feet. It is not unlikely that formerly there was a chain or a rope descending from the base of the Kalasa to the ground whereby people could ascend to the top when required to renew the flag, or for casual repairs; but there is nothing of the kind now. I ascertained the height by taking angles from three different places; but, wishing also to test the accuracy of my calculations by actual measurement, I enquired if it was possible to send up a man to the top of the Tower with my measuring tape. The priest said it would not be respectful to do so; but if I would present a new flag, one of the temple servants would go and fix it on the staff, the charge for the person going up being Rs. 4. I agreed to this and the sight of a man ascending the stupendous height with no other help than the mouldings on the body and shaft of the Tower, was wonderful. With a rope and a measuring tape trailing from his waist, and the new flag—an entire piece of calico—over his head, he climbed with the agility of a monkey, and never faltered or hesitated for a moment. In descending he was even more expeditious; and I was told that there were several persons in the neighbourhood who could do the like with quite as much ease and expedition, and that to the knowledge of the oldest inhabitant of the place, there never had happended an accident.

The eastern facade abuts on the Porch. There is no ornament or decoration on that side except in the walls which face the recesses between the two buildings and there the carvings are counterparts of what are seen on the other sides. The doorway between the two buildings is plain, having no framing nor moulding around it. The sanctum, like the body of the temple, is a cube, having a canopy on top, and over it a roof dividing the interior of the Tower into two storeys. I was not permitted to remove the canopy, and could not ascertain how the roof was formed, whether by a horizontal, or a radiating, arch, or by a **[76]** flat structure supported on beams. It is certain, however, that the roof, however formed, constituted a part of the original design, for there is on one of the side walls a small door leading to a vise or spiral staircase by which the upper storey can be reached. The windows on the four sides near the top of the spire would have been uncalled for had there not been a chamber to give light to, and at the height of 150 feet it would have been impossible to pierce a rectangular opening through several feet of solid stone after the Tower had been completed. The priests were well aware of the existence of the upper chamber, and said that in former times it was the repository of treasure and of gold and silver utensils and ornaments belonging to the divinity; but, about a hundred years ago, a person had died of suffocation in the room, and ever since it has never been visited. I wished to fumigate and ventilate the place first, and then go up; but the priests declined to accede to my request. In all the larger temples, such as that of Rāmeśvara, of Puri, and of Koṇārak, the two-storeyed arrangement prevails, and it was evidently adopted when the several temples were designed. But at

Buddha Gayā, where the structure is three-storeyed, the partitions dividing the interior into different storeys were put in long after the erection of the temple. In the smaller temples of Orissa, where the double-storeyed arrangement does not obtain, the interior is divided by a canopy, as otherwise the upper part of the shaft generally becomes the abode of numberless bats, which cause a serious nuisance in the sanctum, the canopy very effectually prevents this.

Bhuvanesvara his name and form :—The full name of the presiding divinity of the Tower is *Tribhuvaneśvara*, "the Lord of the three regions," *i.e.*, of the universe; but the first word of the compound is generally omitted for the sake of brevity, and in the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* and the *Ekāmra-candrikā*, both Tribhuvaneśvara and Bhuvaneśvara occur with equal frequency. Another name of the divinity is Kīrtivāsa. It was given him, according to some, because he was instrumental in the destruction of the demons Kīrti and Vāsa (see *ante*, p.[67]) ; but others derive it from *kīrti* 'noble deeds' and *vāsa* 'raiment',—he who is clothed in noble deeds'. Some spell the name *Kṛttivāsa* a compound of *kṛtti*, 'hide, and *vāsas* 'clothing'—'he who is dressed in a tiger skin'. The most common epithet for him, however, is *Liṅgarāja*, 'the noblest of Liṅgams.' The other names of Mahādeva are, at option, also applied to him ; but they are not peculiar. The form in which he is represented in the sanctuary is that of a huge uncarved block of granite, about 8 feet in diameter, and rising eight inches above the level of the floor. It is half-buried in the centre of the room, and is surrounded by a raised rim of block chlorite ending on the north side into a point. This rim is called the Yoni, or the female emblem. The upper surface of the granite block was originally perfectly unhewn ; and, although frequent washings for many centuries have since given it a polish, it is even now very uneven and undulating. For such a block personal ornaments are out of the question, and the only ornament occasionally put on it is a golden band round the rim The room is so dark that even at midday nothing is visible in it without the help of a lamp, and for the benefit of the devout one or more lamps are always kept burning ; but even with this help the poorer classes, who behold the image from the Dancing Hall, can see very little of it. Those who are admitted to the Porch do not also see much of it ; but the rich, whose presents and offerings are costly, are admitted into the sanctuary, and permitted not only to perform that all-important act of devotion, circumambulation by the right side, but also to touch the stone, place their offerings thereon, and fan the divinity with a large palm-leaf *pankhā*.

Offerings :—The block is bathed with a great profusion of water, as also with milk and the intoxicating beverage of *bhāṅg*, several times every day, and wiped dry after each lustration. Offerings of flowers, sandal paste and new cloth are placed on the block, but other small offerings are put near it ; and the divinity is invoked to accept them. Offerings of cooked rice, curries and sweetmeat, when brought in, in moderate quantities, are placed on the middle of the porch ; but if the quantity be large, it is displayed in the Bhoga Maṇḍapa, whence the divinity is invoked to accept them.

Daily-Service :—The daily round of service for the worship of the divinity is a large one. It begins at early dawn with the ringing of bells to rouse the divinity from his slumbers. The ringing is done from the Porch, and the temple-door is then opened. The ceremonials which follow are called *Dhūpas*, and for the whole day they are twenty-two in number. The 1st is *Darpaṇa*. It consists in moving about in various ways a many-wicked lamp in front of the stone. The ordinary name for this ceremony is Ārati. (2) The second, in the vernacular of the district, is called *Danta-kāṣṭha-lāgi* ; it is celebrated at half-past 6 A.M., when a stick, about a foot long and smashed at one end to form a brush, is moved about in front of the stone, to represent symbolically the act of brushing the teeth of the divinity. Some water is then poured out, and a napkin turned about to complete the symbolical ablution of the face. (3) At 7 A.M. is performed the third ceremony called the *Snāna* or *Jala-lāgi*. It consists in washing the stone, first with several pitchers of water, then successively with curds, honey, ghi, sugar and milk, and then with water again to carry off the preceding articles. The stone is lastly wiped dry and the ceremony of bathing is over. (4) Dressing follows the bath, and this is called fourth *Dhūpa*, or *Vastraparidhāna*—Uriyā *lugāpidhān*. This is simple enough ; it is accomplished by washing the cloth that had been used the **[77]** day before, and then placing it along the seam between the block and the chlorite rim, that is technically between the liṅgam and the penate. (5) The breakfast next follows, and it comprises parched grain *(khoi)*, sweetmeats made of sugar and rasped cocoanut kernel, curds and cocoanuts. It is diffrently called *Ballabha Bhoga*, *Bālya Bhoga*, or *Bāla Bhoga*, 'the juvenile repast'. It is offered at 8 A. M. (6) The sixth offering takes place at 10 A.M. It is called *Sakāla Bhoga*—the regular breakfast—at which two kinds of *Khichri*, made respectively of *mung* and *kalāyi* pulse, fritters, cakes and sweetmeats are the principal articles offered. (7) The next meal-time is at 11 A.M. when rice, *dāl* and various kinds of curry are brought into the Bhoga Maṇḍapa for the entertainment of the god. This is followed by another Ballabha Bhoga or juvenile repast consisting of cakes of rice-meal, cocoanut kernel, cheese and molasses. This was introduced by Rājā Vira Keśarī in A C. 800 (9) The ninth is the principal meal of the day. It is offered at midday, whence its name *Murdhaṇya Bhoga*. It comprises rice *dāl*, curry, pastry, *malpūyā* cakes, cream, and sherbats of different kinds. Immediately after these offerings, the priest in attendance turns a many-lighted lamp in front of the god, and performs a regular *ārati* with a variety of incenses. Immediately after this the doors of the sancturay are closed, and the divinity is supposed to be at rest, enjoying his afternoon siesta. (10) The sleep lasts till 4 P.M., when he is roused by the dulcet sound of music, and turning of lights or *ārati*. (11) A lunch after this follows, and it is called *Terāpetā Bhoga*. At this lunch nothing is admissible except a kind of sweetmeat called *jilebi*. (12) An afternoon bath comes on next, and it is in all its details the counterpart of what occurs at the *Jala-lāgi* of the morning. (13) A dressing follows this, when clothes, sandal paste, *bel* leaf, *tulasi* leaf, flowers and ornaments are placed on the stone. This is called *Sandhyā Dhūpa-beśa*. (14) The exertion of dressing calls for another lunch *(Sandhyā bhoga)* when *matichur* and *gajā* (sweetmeats), curds, stale rice preserved in water, sugar sauces made of white pumpkin, cocoanut, ghi and mollasses, and betel leaf are brought to the presence of the god ; an *ārati* concludes the ceremony. The *ārati* is performed just at candle-light, and immediately after, (15) another bathing follows ; and then (16) a dressing called *Baḍasingāra* or "full dress", when yellow cloth, flowers, leaves and perfumes are placed on the god. (17) For the lunch in connexion with this dressing curds, stale rice *(pāntā bhāt)*, fried vegetables, cakes and puddings, *kākrā* and *khāchim (mohan bhoga)* are the principal articles recommended. (18) An hour after comes on the private supper called *Nijaghara khei*. when sweetmeats, stale rice and curds are brought into the sanctum. These articles are given away to the servants of the temple, while all the articles offered at the other *bhogas* are sold to the credit of the temple fund. The servants also sell what they get as their due. (19) After supper a ceremony is gone through called *Puṣpāñjali sevā* when five masks made of an alloy of the 8 principal metals, and a *domaru*, a musical instrument shaped like an hour-glass, are placed on a stool in the centre of the Nāṭ Mandir, plantains and sweetmeats offered to them, and then they are taken into the sanctum, and placed on the rim surrounding the sacred stone. (21) After this an *ārati* is performed, and then arrangements are made for (22) the *Śayana* or sleep of the divinity. For this purpose a bedstead is brought into the sanctum, and betel, drinking water, flowers and spices are placed near it, and, after announcing in respectful terms that Pārvatī awaits in the chamber her lord's pleasure, the door is closed for the night.

Each of these 22 ceremonies is accompanied by ritual observances and recitations of *mantras* especially provided for them. The worshipping is of three kinds ; at the first and the evening *dhūpas*, the worship is called *ṣoḍaṣa-upacāra*, including 16 offerings. The midday *dhūpas*, includes ten offerings *(daśa-upacāra)*. The rest are *pañca-upacāra* or five-fold. These distinctions are purely liturgical, and call for no remark here.

Festivals :—The festivals celebrated in honour of the divinity are called Yātrās, and of these 14 are reckoned *Pradhāna* or principal, and 12 *Upa* or minor Yātrās. Most of the former correspond pretty closely with the Hindu festivals observed in other parts of India ; but the mode of celebrating them is, in some cases, peculiar. Their special peculiarities are dialeted upon in the three principal works relating to the place ; namely, the *Kapila Saṃhitā*, the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* and the *Ekāmra Candrikā*, and the following brief notice have been compiled from those works. The latter are local adaptations of Vaiṣṇavite and other rites which are not mentioned in the authorities above named. The year is assumed to begin from the Ist day of the new moon in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa (November-December) when the ritual year is said to commence, and the festivals are usually calculated from that date.

1. *Prathamāṣṭamī ;* The first festival, according to this mode of reckoning, comes on the 8th of the wane. It is called *Prathamāṣṭamī Yātrā* or 'the feast of the first 8th' It is not recognised in the Bengali calendar. At Bhuvaneśvara it is celebrated in the form of a car festival. A small brazen image, having the name of Candraśekhara, and usually kept in the little temple by the southern entrance of the Mohan, is taken out, as the proxy of Bhuvaneśvara, placed on a large car, and carried with much pomp and music to a tank called *Pāpanāsinī*. There it is bathed, dressed with new clothes, and worshipped

with a special formula devised for the purpose, and then brought back with equal pomp, through a dense crowd, roughly estimated at ten thousand. The tank is situated at a distance of about 300 yards to the west of the Great Tower, **[78]** close by the Temple of Maitreśvara, and held in great esteem as especially efficacious in washing off all moral taints, whence its name.

2. *Prāvaraṇotsava :* The second festival takes place at midday, on the 6th of the waxing moon in the month of Mārgaśirṣa. It is called *Prāvaraṇa Saṣṭhī Yātrā*, and is supposed to be the day when the cold weather fully sets in. On such an occasion the dressing of the divinity with warm clothing is the great requirement, and a large concourse assembles to behold the great Lord of the Universe in his warm garments. As the image of the divinity is a flat piece of stone, the dress is simply placed on the top of it amidst singing and music. In Bengal no rite is celebrated as the counterpart of this festival.

3. *Puṣyā Yātrā :* The ceremony of *Puṣyābhiṣeka* occurs on the full moon of Pauṣa (December-January), when the divinity is bathed with 108 pitchers of water brought from the Vindu-sāgara tank, dressed with new clothes, and offered a garland of mustard flowers, amidst singing and music. No festival corresponding to this is observed in Bengal. The *Ekāmra Purāṇa* provides the ritual for this rite, but it does not allude to 108 pitchers of water. According to it, water from all sacred pools scented with a variety of aromatic substances should be used for the purpose.

4. *Ghṛtakambala Yātrā* or *Mākara Saṃkrānti*, the last day of the solar month of Pauṣa, or the day when the sun enters the sign of *Capricornus*. In Bengal the day is devoted to feasting, as the day of harvest-home, and a great quantity of puddings and cakes made of rice-meal, the counter parts of the Christmas plum-pudding, are consumed. But this is not known at Bhuvaneśvara. There the sacred stone is bathed with 108 pitchers of water brought from the Vindu-Sāgara tank, dressed with a new blanket, and feasted with new rice and all the new produce of the season, resembling in this respect the Navānna ceremony of Bengal, at which new rice is offered to the gods. The latter, however, takes place about six weeks earlier, or at about the time of the Roman Catholic Novana.

5. *Māgha-saptamī Yātrā*. It is celebrated on the 7th of the waxing moon in the month of Māgha. Candraśekhara, the proxy of the Lord of the Universe, is, at midday, sent in a grand procession to the temple of Bhāskareśvara, about a mile to the north-east of the Great Tower, and there bathed, clothed, worshipped, and feasted amidst the rejoicings of the assembled crowd and loud music, and in the afternoon brought back to his usual abode.

6. The *Śivarātra* takes place on the 14th of the wane in Phālguṇa (February-March), to commemorate an anecdote. It is said that a fowler once lost his way in a forest, and, night coming on, took shelter on the branch of a *bel* tree. He was weeping for having been obliged to pass the night in a forest away from his family, and his tears falling on a sear yellow leaf carried it down to where there was *liṅgam* of Mahādeva. The god was greatly pleased with this unwitting but grateful offering of water and leaf.

Sivites all over India commemorate the event by fasting the whole day, and worshipping the god at the four watches of the night. At Bhuvaneśvara a hundred thousand *bel* leaves are offered at the four *pūjās*, and offerings are also made to an image, the left half of which represents Hari and the right half Hara.

7. *Aśokāṣṭamī Yātrā*, or the feast of the 8th of the wane in the month of Caitra (March-April). In the Hindu calendar of Bengal, the day is held sacred, because on this day Sītā, when confined by Rāvaṇa, is said to have offered some Aśoka flowers to a god while praying for re-union with her lord. Hindu wives mark it by eating some buds of the Aśoka flower, and, when convenient, visit a tree of that species, and offer it an embrace. At Bhuvaneśvara it is celebrated by a car festival. The car is called *Śivadalana*. On it is placed Candraśekhara, as proxy of Bhuvaneśvara, and carried to the temple of Rāmeśvara, a distance [79] of a little over a mile to the north-west, and there feasted, worshipped and kept for five days. The house where the proxy is kept is called Guṇḍicā, after the name of a queen of Pratāparudra, king of Orissa, This lady erected a house at Puri for the use of Jagannātha when he goes out on his car excursion, and ever since all temporary resting-places for gods in Orissa have got the same name. The feast is the substitute of the car festival of Puri, and all the ceremonies observed there in the making of the car, and the worshipping of the divinity with special rituals. are repeated here with great punctiliousness. Even the detail about placing Lakṣmī in a pavilion at the corner of the courtyard to welcome Jagannātha on his return, is reproduced here by placing an image of Durgā in the pavilion at the north-east corner of the courtyard. The details of this Yātrā given in the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* spread over many pages, but they are of no general interest. The car should be 21 cubits high, with four wheels, four archways, and yoked to four horses.

8. *Damana bhañjikā Yātrā*. This is a local feast and its counterpart is unknown out of Orissa. At puri on this occasion Janannātha goes out to steal some thyme (Sanskrit *damana*, vernacular *donā*) from a neighbour's garden. The day appropriate for it is the 14th of the waxing moon in caitra. The proxy of Bhuvaneśvara is not represented as quite so nefariously inclined ; but he observes the sanctity of the day by going to a platform in front of the temple of Tīrtheśvara. to the east of the Vindu Sāgara tank, where he takes his seat amidst general rejoicing, and receives presents of ornaments made of thyme sprigs. The thyme is cultivated everywhere in Orissa, and is met with in a wild state in the purgannas of Khurdā.

9. *Candana Yātrā* or *Akṣaya-tṛtīya*, the third of the waxing moon in Vaiśākha (April-May). On this day the proxy of the divinity is taken to the little temple on the island in the Vindu-Sāgara tank, and there kept for twenty-two days, during which great quantities of flowers and sandal paste are offered to him. He is every afternoon cruised about in a boat in the tank, and singing and dancing are kept up throughout the whole period. A special set of dancing girls is entertained for this occasion, and it has rent-free lands valued at Rs. 15. Bhuvaneśvara himself, on this occasion, receives an extra smearing of sandal paste every day. The *Brahma Purāṇa* limits the ceremony to one day only, and its counterpart in Bengal takes place on the full-moon of Vaiśākha,

when images of Viṣṇu are adorned with flowers and entertained in a swing covered with flowers and sprinkled over with sandal paste. One special offering for the occasion enjoined by the *Brahma Purāṇa* is a blade of barley.[28]

10. *Paraśurāmāṣṭamī Yātrā* is celebrated on the 8th of the waxing moon in the month of Āṣāḍha (June-July) by taking the proxy to the temple of Paraśurāmeśvara, and there entertaining it with flowers, incenses, music and dancing. The vehicle used in the procession is called a Vimāna,—a kind of sedan chair carried on men's shoulders. These visits constitute a peculiar feature of the local custom, as it is almost unknown in other parts of India. The god or the image worshipped is the greatest, and it is supposed that he or it cannot but lower himself or itself by paying visits to others ; but this feeling does not at all obtain at Bhuvaneśvara. It should be added, however, that as the visits are paid to different images of the same divinity, there is no loss of dignity entailed by them. -

11. *Śayana Caturdaśī Yātrā*. On the 14th of the waxing moon in Āṣaḍha (June-July) the whole day is spent in singing, music and feasting, and at midnight a small image of Śiva in silver and one of Pārvatī in gold are put reclining in a bed, and there kept to sleep for four months. This is a counterpart of the Vaiṣṇavite ceremony of *Śayana*, which commences on the 11th of that lunar month, and is emblematic of Viṣṇu's sleep on the primeval waters when nothing else was existent. The ceremony is commonly called *Cāturmāsyā* or the "quadrimensial fast", during which, as in Lent, pious people abstain from many of the comforts and conveniences of life, some abstaining from rice, some from the use of bedsteads, some from plates and dishes, getting their meals served on the bare earth. In Vedic times there was current a rite of this name which commenced from March or April and lasted four months. The Buddhist preserved the name, but changed the time to the middle of Āṣāḍha when the setting in of the rains rendered itinerancy impossible, and an asylum in a monastery unavoidable. The common name for this fast among the Buddhists was *Vassā* (*ante* I, p. [**157**]). The Hindus have since revived it under the supposition that [**80**] it is an observance in commemoration of Viṣṇu's sleep. Not to be outdone in any way by their Vaiṣṇava rivals, the Śivites have attributed a similar sleep to Śiva and his consort, and the following invocation from the *Ekāmra Candrikā*, requesting the couple to go to sleep, will give an idea of how the transfer has been made. "Thou art the father of the universe, and thou art its mother. By the sight of ye two, creation becomes sanctified. You two are the creator of the universe in the form of Brahmā and and Sāvitrī. In the form of Lakṣmī and Viṣṇu, you Maheśvara are the protector. In the form of Śiva and Umā, thou art the saviour of mankind. Do thou, O Śambhu, sleep on this bedstead along with Umā. By thy sleep, O lord of the Universe (Jagannātha), all mankind—all who have attained their wishes by thy sight, O Śaṃkara—will rest in peace."

12. *Pavitrāropaṇi Yātrā*. This Yātrā takes place on the 14th of the waxing moon in Srāvaṇa, (July-August) or just a month after the last. It is celebrated at midday, when,

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[28] In Bengal, the third of the wane is, however, also held to be a sacred and auspicious one, being the first day of the Satya Yuga, and merchants and tradesmen select it for the commencement of a new year, and use new account books.

after some ritual observances, and amidst a good deal of singing and music, a new Brahmāṇical cord is presented to the divinity.

13. *Yamadvitīyā Yātrā.* This takes place on the 2nd of the waxing moon in Kārtika, (October-November). The legend has it that on this day Yamī, the sister and wife of Yama, the lord of the lower regions, offered welcome to her brother, and thereby secured for him immunity from death ; and in all parts of India, sisters on this day invite their brothers and feast them, and make presents of new clothes to them. At Bhuvaneśvara the day is devoted to a procession in which the proxy of Bhubaneśvara is carried in a palankeen to the temple of Yameśvara, and after feasting and music, is brought back with much pomp and ceremony. As a festive occasion, the day could not be overlooked, and, yet as it would be absurd to observe it as a means of longevity for the divinity who is immortal, the priests have converted it to a day of picnic for the godhead.

14. *Utthāna-caturdaśī Yātrā*, the 14th of the waxing moon in the month of Kārtika. This day completes the four months' sleep to which the gold and silver images are consigned by the festival noted under the head of *Śayana*, and so at midnight, amidst music and singing, and after some ritualistic observances, the images are taken out of bed, bathed, dressed in new clothes, and worshipped in due form. As Viṣṇu is put to bed on the 11th lunation of Āṣāḍha, he completes his four months three days earlier, and rises on the 11th of Kārtika. The ritual details in either case are very much the same, and could not well be otherwise. This completes the list of the fourteen great festivals or Mahā-yātrās of Bhuvaneśvara. At each of these ceremonies every pious worshipper is required to go through certain ritual observances and make special offerings.

Upa Yatras or Minor Festivals :—The minor festivals of Bhuvaneśvara, like the preceding, are mostly reproductions or modifications of the rites and ceremonies enjoined in the later Smṛti compilations. And such being the case, it is not at all likely that they date from the rise of the Great Tower. Pious worshippers, anxious to evince their devotion by special acts of adoration, introduced them from time to time, and, once introduced, they took root and thrived, and, gradually hallowed by the sanctity of custom, became integral parts of the ritual of the place.

1. *Dhanuṣsaṃkrānti* :—Starting, as in the last case, from the month of Agrahāyāṇa the first minor festival falls on the last day of the solar month of Agrahāyaṇa, or the day on which the sun enters the sign of Sagitarius, whence the name of the festival. Music and dancing and festivity mark the day as one of special rejoicing, but there is no particular religious service enjoined for the occasion. The only article of offering specially required is a cake called *muyā*. It is made of parched rice candied in molasses. The article is a poor one, ordinarily consumed by the most indigent classes, but at this particular season, when made with new rice just harvested and newly made molasses, it has an agreeable flavour and is generally liked.

2. *Vasanta Pañcamī*, or the 5th of the waxing moon in Māgha. On this day the divinity is, by proxy, taken to a mangoe tope to the east of the temple and there the day is passed in feasting and music. In B al its counterpart is the Sarasvatī-pūjā, or the

"pen and ink festival" which takes place on the same day. The worshipping of the presiding divinity of reading and writing is soon finished, and the afternoon, it is ordained, should be spent in a picnic. The picnic portion is what is observed at Bhuvaneśvara by taking the image out for a recreation, along with some Vaiṣṇavite images who are assumed to form the guests at the picnic.

3. *Bhaimī-ekādaśī* or the eleventh of the waxing moon in Māgha. According to the Smṛtis, on this day Bhīma, the second of the Pāṇḍu brothers, observed a strict fast for the purpose of attaining success against the Kaurava host, and it has since been held a sacred day. The fast was observed in honour of Viṣṇu ; but being a sacred day it could not be overlooked [81] even in a Śivite temple. Of course the divinity cannot be subjected to a fast, so he is taken out, by proxy, in a Pālki (*śivikā*) to the temple of Bhīmeśvara, and there made to spend the day in feasting.

4. *Kapila Yātrā.* This is one of the few festivsls observed at Bhuvaneśvara which have no sanction in the Śāstras. It is even so unritualistic as not to be held on a particular day of the moon. It is held on the first Saturday of the solar month of Phālguna, when Candraśekhara, the proxy of Bhuvaneśvara, is taken to the temple of Kapileśvara, a little over a mile to the south-east of the Great Tower, and there entertained with music, dancings and rich viands.

5. *Dola Yātrā.* On this occasion the proxy is changed. Instead of Candraśekhara, an image of Harihara is made to repr sent the Lord of the Universe. Successively for six days before the full moon of Phālguna, the image is taken about the town in a richly decorated chair, amidst a great deal of singing and music, and on the afternoon of the last day entertained with swinging and the sprinkling of the *holi* or red powder. On the north side of the Great Tower, close by the northern gate, there is, outside the temple enclosure, a stone platform having in the centre two stone pillars with an arched architrave over it (See Plate XXX). From this architrave is suspended a chair, and on it the image is placed and gently swung, while the assembled multitude entertain themselves with singing obscene songs, and scattering red powder. The festivities last for several hours till 10 or 11 o'clock at night.

6. *Nava-patrikā.* It takes place on the 7th, the 8th, and the 9th of the waxing moon in Caitra, and corresponds with the Vāsantī pūjā, a from of Durgā pūjā or the vernal feast of Bengal. On this occasion Bhuvaneśvarī, the wife of Bhuvaneśvara who is no other than Durgā under another name, is worshipped in the same way as Durgā is in Bengal. There is an image of the goddess in the small temple to the south of the porch of the Great Tower, and this is brought out on the occasion, but no clay image is made, as in Bengal, to represent her.

7. *Śītalā-ṣaṣṭhī*, or the 6th of the waxing moon in the month of Jayaiṣṭha. On this day the presiding divinity of the Tower deputes a substitute to the temple of Kedāreśvara, in front of which there is a small temple dedicated to Gaurī, "the fair one," whom the divinity marries by proxy.

8. *Janmāṣṭamī.* This festival takes place on the 8th of the wane in the month of Bhādra. It is identically the same with what takes place in Bengal and other parts of

India to commemorate the anniversary of Kṛṣṇa's birth-day. The day is passed in fasting, and at night an image of Kṛṣṇa is worshipped in the temple. As a purely Vaiṣṇavite festival, it does not excite any enthusiasm among the members of the Saiva sect, but it is worthy of note that it is not neglected.

9. *Gaṇeśa-caturthī*. It is observed to commemorate the anniversary of the birth-day of Gaṇeśa, the eldest son of Siva, and patron of learning. The day is the 4th of the waxing moon in Bhādra. Although more closely related to Sivite worship than the last, it is not much thought of. In Bengal it is entirely neglected ; but in the Upper Provinces it is held in high estimation.

10. *Soḍaṣadina-parava*, or the feast of 16 days. It commences on the 8th of the wane, and terminates on the 8th of the waxing moon in Āśvina. The dread god is worshipped on these days with special rituals amidst feasting and rejoicing, and on the last day is taken, by proxy, to the island on the Vindu Sāgara tank, and there entertained with music and dancing. This is a modification of the Durgā pūja which in Bengal commences on the 9th of the wane and terminates on the 9th of the waxing moon of that month. Why this change has been made I could not ascertain.

11. *Daśaharā*, or the 10th of the waxing moon in the month of Āśvina. It is the day on which, in Bengal, the idol of Durgā is consigned to the nearest river or tank, but as in the North-Western Provinces and in Orissa no clay image is made, no such ceremony can be observed. According to the Purāṇas and Tantras, Rāmā, after having been foild in many attempts to overcome the ten-headed monster of Laṅkā, devoted fourteen days to the worship of the goddess Durgā, and having propitiated her, on the 15th day sallied forth and attained his object. The Durgā pūjā is an anniversary of this worship, and it is usual throughout India to observe the last day by martial display. Formerly military expeditions were sent forth on this day, and villages of neighbouring chieftains looted. It is firmly believed that success in any venture on this day is a sure presage of success throughout the year, and every one in his own sphere does something which he hopes would ensure a year's good fortune. At Bhuvaneśvara the lord of the universe is, by proxy, taken to the temple of Kālikā Devī, and there all the *pāiks* and wrestlers assemble and display their respective arts. The display of swordsmanship on the occassion is said to be particularly grand.

12. *Kumārotsava*, or the feast of Kārtika. In Bengal this festival takes place on the last day of the solar month of Kārtika, without any reference to the lunar date, and the full-moon of Āśvina is devoted to the worship of Lakṣmī, the goddess of fortune, who is propitiated by gambling and heavy betting. At Bhubaneśvara the last day is devoted to Kārtika, and the first is left unnoticed. The idol worshipped on this occasion is that which occupies a niche on the west side of the temple, and of which a figure has been given in vol. I, plate XIX, fig. 142.

[82] Both at the great and at the minor festivals, dressed food of all kinds are

offered to the god in profusion, and as already stated (p.[77]), sold to all comers. Persons of all castes or sects readily purchase such articles of food, including boiled rice which ordinarily forms the greatest bulwark to the caste system, and eat them with every mark of veneration. The only two temples in all India where this promiscuous eating of boiled rice is permitted, are those of Bhnvaneśvara and Puri, and in either case there are positive injunctions of the Śāstra in its favour. Reference has already been made to the prohibition against the eating of articles of food offered to Śiva (*ante* I, pp [138] and [141]), and to set it aside, the *Śiva Purāṇa* supplies the following story.

"Śrī Śaṃkara said, 'O lotus-born, hear of my one secret and eternal Liṅga which, be sure, is the same which you together with Viṣṇu saw. In the beautiful wood of of Ekāmra in the Utkala country, in the Bhāratavarṣa, there exists an eternal Liṅga by name Tribhuvaneśvara, which is identical with divine light, and is ever hidden. There I constantly abide with the Vedas and the Tattvas (or principles of creation). O lotus-born Brahmā, know that all the Liṅgas which you and the gods have adored on the earth are but its parts ; it is the king of the other eleven Liṅgas which are composed of the divine light. The primeval Liṅga in Ekāmra is the same with Brahmā ; it bears all the yellow, white, red and indigo colours. Go to Ekāmra with the gods ; carefully worship that king of Liṅgas with rich offerings ; and eat my *Naividya* (or eatables offered to me.)'.

"Brahmā returned, 'Great sages having declared that the offerings made to a Liṅga should not be eaten, kindly tell me how they may be used (with impunity). Though I know the excellence of the Liṅga, these gods do not know it, do you therefore communicate it to us.'

"Śri Śaṃkara answered, 'Hear ye gods as also thou lotus-born Brhamā, and cut off the manacles of doubt by my words. That Liṅga is neither god Rudra nor Mādhava ; it is identical with the excellent *Arddha Mātra*. True, the offerings made to a Liṅga are not to be eaten, but the Bhuvaneśvara is not a Liṅga. Do you, my son, together with the Suras and Asuras eat the offerings made to it.' So saying Śambhu vanished from the presence of the gods.

"Brahmā with the other gods afterwards went to the Ekāmra wood, and, finding the Liṅga there, worshipped it ; he likewise, seeing the Liṅga in a visible form, devoted himself to meditations ; whereupon Śiva, convinced of his faithful and disinterested attachment, made himself manifest to him, and asked, 'What do you desire ?'

"Brahmā replied, 'I salute thee, the lord of the universe, who bearest a clear resplendence like that of the moon, whose clotted hair is the seat of Gaṅgā ; whose two arms are adorned with the skin of an elephant and with a skull ; who bearest in thy hands a trident, a bow *(pināka)*, a deer, an emblem of encouragement, a young elephant, a hatchet, a goad, and an arrow ; who art three-eyed, and dressed in a tiger skin fastened with snakes. I salute thee, Śambhu, who art the greatest of the great, holy, ancient, disengaged from the world, conducive to the attainment of the great end (final beatitude), and propitious. Thou knowest that I meditate upon the light of thy feet. O lord, I am seized with trepidation at the sight of thy incomparably formidable shape, and Ravi, Purandara, Candra, and others are frightened. Do thou, therefore, hiding this form, shew us that which is composed of the quality of goodness.'

"So saying the lotus-born Brahmā bowed to the ground, along with the gods, and when he rose he found Śaṃkara in a different from. His face was engaging ; he was mild ; his resplendence was like that of the autumnal moon ; his person was adorned with various ornaments ; his head was resplendent under a diadem and a digit of the moon ; his eyes shone like the sun on his face which was anointed with saffron and camphor ; his lips, resembling *Vimba* fruits (in redness), were adorned with the sweetest smiles ; his ears were set of by earrings of gems ; his throat bore an indigo colour ; his neck was adorned with jewels of gold, gems and pearls ; his four heavy and long arms, wearing bracelets, bore a deer, a hatchet, a symbol of a boon, and a sign of encouragement ; his broad breast, anointed with sandal paste and camphor, was beautified with wreaths of *Mālati*, *Campaka*, *Aśoka*, and golden lotus flowers ; his waist was adorned with silken cloth and small bells ; his thighs shamed plantain trees in tapering rotundity ; he was identical with the Supreme Lord ; his lotus feet, adorned with small bells, were marked with the eighteen signs of a flag, a thunderbolt, a goad, a goat, a lotus, etc.

"Seeing Śiva in this shape, Brahmā and the other gods were unable to pray unto him, their speech being affected with excess of joy : they were quite amazed to behold his form. That soul of the universe after this vanished from their presence and Brahmā, in company with the gods, having worshipped that effulgent Liṅga with various articles, ate the things offered to it. Thus fllled with rapture, Brahmā then went to Satyaloka, and Viṣṇu and other gods returned to their respective homes.

"Whoever faithfully hears this account of the excellence of the Liṅga O follower of Śiva, has all his sins destroyed, and attains Śiva."

Vrishabha :—Close by the third doorway on the north of the Dancing Hall there is a low square room with its floor 2 feet lower than the level of the courtyard, and in it is placed the figure of a colossal bull called Vṛṣabha. In its crouching attitude, it is five feet high at the withers. It is made of a whitish grey sandstone, [83] and its proportions and finish are excellent. Altogether it affords a superior specimen of Orissan Art. The bull is the vehicle of Bhuvaneśvara, and acts likewise as a guard at his gate, and none is permitted to enter the temple and pay his adoration to the divinity without in the first instance purchasing the goodwill of the guard by becoming offerings and salutation. In fact this bull, the image of Gopālinī near the main gate, and the statues of Bhagavatī, Kārtikeya and Gaṇeśa on the three sides of the Great Tower are regularly worshipped by every pilgrim, before he makes his appearance before the Lord of the Universe. None is otherwise permitted to enter the sanctuary.

Sahasra lingam Tank :—Outside the temple enclosure, nearly in front of the eastern gateway, there is a small garden with a tank in the centre. This tank is called the *Sahasra liṅgam sara* or tank of a thousand liṅgams, and the name is due to the circumstance of there being a hundred and eight small temples ranged round the tank. The temples are of small size, each about 6 feet in height, and of evidently modern make. Each has in its centre a small liṅgam, left uncared for and unworshipped. The area around these temples serves as a kitchen garden for the Great Tower, and the tank supplies the water necessary for all the ordinary purposes of the divinity in the Tower. There are some gravelled foot-paths round and about the tank, and a goodly number of plants, to supply the deity requirements of flowers for the Lord of the Universe. The place is not looked upon as one of any sanctity, and its name does not occur in the *Ekāmra Candrikā* which gives the names of all the sacred spots in Bhuvaneśvara which a pious pilgrim is bound to visit The history of the place does not probably extend to an earlier date than the 16th century.

Ruins of the Palace :—The ground to the south of the Great Tower to the extent of about twenty acres lies neglected and overgrown with jungle. It is said to be the site of the Palace of Lalāṭendu Keśarī, and there are sufficient traces to show that at one time it bore an extensive pile of buildings. Remains of foundations may be traced everywhere, and courtyards, some paved with flags of stone, others with concrete, are visible in several places. I had neither time nor the necessary means at my disposal to carry on excavations for the purpose of preparing a ground-plan of the buildings, but I got the brushwood cleared from several places, and walked over the lines of the foundations, most of which remained untouched. I examined also the positions of the paved courtyards; and the conclusion I arrived at was, that the palace included several sets of buildings, each having in its centre a rectangular pavio. Gardens were attached to some, and avenues of Bakula trees (*Memosops elengi*) formed a characteristic feature of those pleasure-grounds. Many of the trees are still existing, and have attained magnificent proportions. The south side of the area is covered by a large mango tope. Some mango and Bakula trees are also to be seen in the middle of the courtyards. It is said that when Yayāti Keśarī first established his metropolis at Bhuvaneśvara, he built a palace of moderate proportions near the temple of Rameśvara, a little over a mile to the nor-nor-west of the Great Tower, but it did not suit the architectural ideas of Lalāṭendu, who transferred his abode to the immediate neighbourhood of the noble monument which he had completed to the glory of his tutelary divinity. The remains of the Rameśvara palace are still *in situ*. It was built mainly of bricks, and set off with stones.

Tirthesvara Temple :—The area to the north of the Sahasra liṅgam tank along the road leading to the Vindusāgara tank is covered by huts, some of which are occupied by shops, others intended for the use of pilgrims. These huts extend as far as the point where the Tongapurā road joins the tank road, and at the north-east corner of this junction there is a small temple of no architectural pretension, but of considerable age and sanctity. Formerly it had a large flower garden behind it; but that is now overgrown with jungle. The temple has no separate porch, but in the place were the porch should have been, there is a small masonry terrace, 3 feet high, which served as an excellent camping-ground for me. There are two large banian trees on the right side, and under their shade with my tent pitched on the terrace, I was very comfortable for the time I spent at Bhuvaneśvara. The divinity of the temple ordinarily receives but little attention. A Brāhmaṇa comes every morning to offer him a few *bel* leaves, a couple of flowers, and a cupful of water, after which the door of the temple is closed for the day. But on the 14th of the waxing moon in Caitra, (p. [79]) it becomes the seat of great festivity. The proxy of Bhuvaneśvara is on that day brought to the place, and all the people of the neighbourhood assemble to offer him sprigs of thyme.

Ananta Vasudeva :—About a hundred and fifty yards to the north of the last, immediately in front of the central ghāt of the Vindusāgara tank, there is a large and magnificent temple with its threefold appurtenance of an appropriate porch, a dancing hall, and a refectory. The courtyard is of the same style, though not of the same size as that of the Great Tower. It is paved throughout with rough flags of sandstone and chlorite, and has at the four corners four small temples, two of which are in a dilapidated condition. The courtyard measures 181 feet by 117 feet, and has a projection in front, 96 feet long and 25 broad, with a propyllon in the centre, opening towards the west. The walls of the courtyard are of laterite, 4 feet thick and 9 feet high. The ground-plan of the temple is shown in plate XLIX. The base [**84**] of the temple is a square of 23 feet broken by three sets of projections, the interior being a square of 10 feet 9 inches raised on a plinth 5 feet high. The total height of the temple is 60 feet to the *kalasa*. The body of the temple is formed of two tiers of niches ranged on a central broad band, and three buttress-like projections on each side of it. These projections are continued on the shaft, but there, instead of having niches, they are modelled into the form of each a string of model temples crossed by narrow horizontal bands. The porch is square of 33 feet outside measurement, the interior being 19 feet. The Dancing Hall is externally 29 feet by 24, and in the inside 17-4 by 16-9, and the Refectory 22 by 19 feet on the outside, and 19 x 12-6 inside. The walls of the Porch and the Dancing Halls are of the same pattern as that of the Dancing Hall of the Great Tower, and their roofs are pyramidal like that of the porch of the Great Temple. The roofs are supported on thick iron beams stretching from wall to wall. The pediments on the porch are particularly elaborate and florid. The temple has an only door opening into the porch. The porch has a door on each side, and opens by a third into the Dancing Hall, which has three doors on each side, and a seventh opening into the Refectory, which, besides the one leading to the Dancing Hall, has three others, one on each side. The cellar of the temple is excessively dark even at midday, and the solitary oil lamp, which is always kept burning, serves only to make the intolerable darkness visible and more oppressive.

As in the case of the Great Tower so here, the Temple and the Porch are the oldest, and the Dancing Hall and the Refectory the latest. The last is perfectly plain and plastered with stucco, whereas the other three are lined with brick-red sandstone, and elaborately sculptured. Ths temple and the Porch have, in the niches and recesses, a large number of statues and statuettes, but there are none in the Dancing Hall. In the inside of the last there is a small column surmounted by a figure of *garuḍa* in black chlorite.

The presiding divinities of the temples are the two brother Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa under the names of Ananta, 'the eternal', and Vāsudeva. The images are of very coarse make, and about 5 feet high. The figure of Ananta has over its head a canopy formed by the expanded hood of a many-headed cobra. Though the temple is occupied by two images, it is held to belong exclusively to Viṣṇu, the same who gave permission to Mahādeva to make Bhuvaneśvara his secret retreat (p.[63]), and the images are accepted to be his representatives. In accordance with this belief, no pilgrim is allowed to perform any religious duty in the town without first obtaining their sanction. The first act of a pilgrim, on arrival in the town, is to repeat a *mantra* praying Ananta and Vāsudeva to accord their sanction to bathe in the Vindusāgara tank, and offer oblations to his manes. This done, he formally makes a resolution to perform all, or such of, the duties as the Śāstra enjoins, and which his circumstances will admit of, and then descends into the tank. When half-immersed in water, he must repeat a number of *mantras*, and another prayer for permission to bathe in the tank. This done, he goes through the ususal *tarpaṇa* and śrāddha, or the former only, should he not like to perform the latter, for it is optional. He must then visit the images in the temple, and once again pray for leave to visit Bhuvaneśvara. He must next go to the goddess Ardhapāpaharā, or the remover of half of one's sins, and when he has paid his adorations to her, he is at liberty to visit Bhuvaneśvara and other gods and goddesses of the town.[29] Imprecations dire are denounced against those who neglect this rule, and no Hindu wittingly do anything against this imperative rule.

It is generally believed that this temple is older than the Great Tower ; but this belief is founded entirely on the story which makes Śiva obtain the permission of Viṣṇu before taking up his abode here, and not on any historical tradition. Looking to the style and make of the temple, and its well preserved condition, no one would be disposed to think that it was of an ancient date, and as it is one of the few temples at Bhuvaneśvara which enjoy the benefit of an inscription which expounds its history, there can be no doubt on the subject. There are existing two large slabs stuck on the western wall of the courtyard, bearing Sanskrit inscriptions. One of these was originally intended for the temple of Brahmeśvara, and the other for that of Ananta and Vāsudeva. Both of them had been removed from their proper places by General Stewart, and deposited in the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal at about the early part of this century. When Major (then Lieutenant) Kittoe visited Bhuvaneśvara in 1838, the priests complained bitterly of the sacrilege, and he suggested the restitution of the stones. The Society readily permitted this, but in replacing them, through some mistake or other, the Major selected the outer wall of this temple for both of them, instead of their respective places. Before making the restitution, James Prinsep published transcripts and translations of both the record in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. The Brahmeśvara record will be noticed lower down. The other professes to be an eulogium on Bhaṭṭa Bhava Deva, a Bengal paṇḍit of great renown, whose treatise on inheritance is held in high estimation by the lawyers of the Maithila School. He was the minister of a king

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29. *Śiva Purāṇa*, 2nd Book

named Harivarmā, and the record was composed by his friend Vācaspati Miśra, a distinguished paṇḍit, author of many original works and commentaries. A portion of the line [85] giving the details of the date is obliterated, but the date has been doubtfully read Samvat 32. The date of Vācaspati is well known, it was about the close of the 11th century, and the temple consequently is of that date. The inscription, as read by Major Marshall, runs thus :

TRANSLATION By MAJOR MARSHALL[30]

Om ! Salutation to (Kṛṣṇa) the adorable son of Vāsudeva !

Verse 1. May Hari (Viṣṇu), who desiring to embrace (Sarasvatī) with his body stamped with the impress of the leaves[31] of the jar-like bosom of the warmly embraced Kamalā (Lakṣmī), was bantered thus : "Perish not this fresh garland of flowers," by the goddess of speech (Sarasvatī)—prosper you !

2. O goddess of speech ! since thou hast been daily worshipped from my childhood, let it now yield fruit—be propitious ! I am speaking the excellent words of of the praises of the family of Bhaṭṭa Bhava-Deva. Take thy station on the tip of my tongue !

3. The learned *brāhmaṇs* who were born in the exalted and continuous line of Sāvarṇa Muni, a hundred villages, lands held by royal grants, became their abode. Among these truly *siddhala* alone, the famed, the chief of villages, the decoration of the beauty of Rādha,[32] is the ornament of the regions of *Āryā-vartta*,[33] the (holy land).

[86] 4. Here this family[34] hath happily spread, with excellent sprouts, honoured with firmly compacted roots, whose glory is promoted by *brāhmaṇs*,[35] arrived at the extremities of the branches (of the Vedas), loudly reciting (those scriptures), not knotty, not crooked, upwright, handsome-proportioned, exalted above all.

5. Bhava-Deva appeared, the jewel of the crest of that line, a giver of tribute[36]

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[30] The following note (Nos. 31 to 50) appeared along with the translation.

[31] Alluding to the ancient Hindu custom of the females adorning the face and person with coloured pigment, such as saffron, sandal, etc.

[32] That part of Bengal which lies on the west of the Ganges.

[33] Literally, the country where holy men are constantly produced ; bounded, according to Manu by the eastern and western seas, and by the mountains Himalaya and Vindhya (*Manu*, 11.22).

[34] The word vaṃśa also means "the bamboo", and the poet throughout this verse uses such double-meaning epithets as may be made applicable to both senses.

[35] In applying this epithet to the bamboo, the word *dvija*, literally "twice-born", would be rendered "birds"—first-born in the egg, and secondly produced from it.

[36] The word here rendered "tribute" looks most like *kiraṇa* in the original ; but that reading makes no sense. It is here translated as if it were *kalasya* for *karasya* (*ra* and *la* being interchangeable), which word meaning also a "ray of light", the resemblance to the sun may, by a play on the word, be established. It appeared on first observation, not unlike *kailāsa* ; but on considering the metre, this reading proved inadmissible. The measure of this verse is the Āryā of 30 instants in the first line and 27 in the second.

like the sun, the producer of science and mystic formula, like *Bhava* (Siva).

6. He was born between two brothers, an older and a younger (named) Mahādeva and Attahāsa ; just as Viṣṇu is between Brahmā and Śiva.

7. He obtained from the King of Gauḍa a grant embracing the choice land of the territory set apart at *Śrī Hastinī* (*Hastinī-purī*). Moreover, he saw his eight sons, Rathāṅga, etc. like the eight forms of Maheśa[37] (Śiva).

8. From Rathāṅga sprung Atyaṅga like the moon from the ocean of milk, the delighter of men, the abode of the undivided god of love. His son Budha, the lustre of whose wisdom was resplendent, was as famed in every quarter by the name of Sphurita, as the planet Saumya (Budha or Mercury).

9. From him arose Śrī Ādi-deva, the sole seed of the prosperity of his family, the principal root of the great tree of unfeigned manliness, like the god Ādi-mūrti (Viṣṇu), wishing with a mortal form to adorn this earth.

10. Who was minister during the stability of the fortune of kingdom of the rājā of *Vaṅga*, the pure, the great counsellor, the great minister, the profitable, the disposer of peace and war.

11. He Ādi-deva begot a son, Govardhana, conceived in the womb of Devakī equal to (preserve) the stability of the world, wedded to Sarasvatī. wonderful in the worlds.

12. Who, advaacing in fields of battle, and in the assemblies of the possessors of divine truth, both his territories and the art of speaking, by the deeds of his arm and the cunning of his eloquence, made his name justly applicable to his character in two senses of the word.[38]

13. He took to wife Sāngokā, the venerable, the virtuous daughter of a *brāhmaṇa* of the race of Vandya Ghatī,[39] the jewel of women.

14. In her, announcing his own birth by a vision, was conceived, by this Kāśyapa of the earth, the god Hari, in the form of Śrī Bhava-deva, on whose hands are beheld marked two lotuses, within whose breast the *kaustubha* (the jewel of Kṛṣṇa) is, from outward appearances, known to be deposited.

15. By whom, placing Lakṣmī in his right shoulder, the earth in the force of his counsel Sarasvatī in the tip of his tongue, the bird Nāgāntaka (Garuḍa) in the body of his enemies, and the discus in the soles of his feet ; these his symbols were, for the sake of concealing that divine and primeval body, perverted.

16. Assisted by the force of whose (Bhava-Deva's) counsel, that conqueror in virtue, Hari Varma Deva, long exercised dominion. In the reign of his son ale, Lakṣmī,

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[37] The eight forms of Maheśa, viz., water, fire, the instituter of a sacrifice, the moon, the sun, the ether, the earth and air, are enumerated in the introductory benediction of the drama *Śakuntalā*.

[38] Govardhana means "increaser of land or teritorry", and "promoter of speech or eloquence". *Go*, "the earth, the speech", and *vardhana*, "increasing".

[39] Name of a family of Raḍhīya Brāhmaṇas.

like a firm Kalpalatā (a tree of heaven, bestowing all desires) followed the path of his (Bhava-Deva's) policy.

17. Of whom the worthy, the high-minded, the possessor of Kamalā, the pardoning, the sea of virtues, the undisturbed in mind, and ocean-souled—the qualities, such as rectitude, greatness, kindness, purity, depth, firmness and determination, almost transcending the bounds of speech, greatly delight (the world).

18. Who is proclaimed to be *Parameśvara* (the Supreme Lord) on earth, by the following assembly of the *Śaktis* (energies of the Deity), *viz.* his fame (a form of) the great Gaurī, his arm graceful as a climbing plant and terrific with the quivering sword, (a form of) Chaṇḍī, delighting in war and smeared with the blood of enemies in the field of battle, his person (a form of) the great Lakṣmī—and lastly, that naturally graceful eloquence.

19. Before whose most powerful *brāhmaṇical* splendour the faint solar luminary enacts the part of a young fire-fly. Before the high aspiring body of whose fame the snowy mountain (the Himālaya) is truly as high as one's knee.

20. This personage, a specimen of those who know the unity of Brahmā, a creator of wonders in already existing science, an evident discerner of the profound virtues of the words of philosophers, a sage, another jar-born saint (Agastya Muni) to the sea[40] of Buddhism, skilful at annihilating the opinions of heretics and cavillers, displays the qualities of Sarvajña (the omniscient)[41] upon earth.

21. Who, seeing across the ocean of spiritual knowledge, mystical learning, and the science of computation ; being a producer of all wonders in worldly sciences ; and being himself the inventor and promulgator of a new system of Astrology, has evidently become another Varāha.[42]

22. He by composing a proper and excellent work, rendered blind (useless) in the paths of the science of law the old expositions ; and also, by making clear with his commentary the verses of the Munis on that subject, entirely removed every doubt regarding lawful actions.

23.[43] By whom truly that aid in spiritual knowledge, in which a thousand arguments like the rays of the sun endure not darkness, was composed according to the rules prescribed by the learned. What need of many words ! this sage is unrivalled in the following branches of knowledge ; viz. the *Sāmaveda* to its utmost extent, all the arts of poets, sacred science, the *Āyurveda* (science of medicine), the *Astraveda* (science of arms), &c.

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[40] Alluding to the legend of Agastya Muni's swallowing the ocean in a fit of anger. Agastya is said to have been born in a water-jar.

[41] Also a title of the deified saints of the Buddhists.

[42] Varāha Mihira, a great astronomer, and one of the nine learned men styled *navaratna*, "the nine gems".

[43] This verse is in the Sragdharā metre of 21 syllables in each pāda or half-line.

24. By whom indeed, is his name Bāla Valabhī Bhujaṅga[44] not honored ?—it is with extasy heard, described, and proclaimed even by Mīmāṃsā (sacred science) himself.

25. Who (Bhava Deva), bringing to life a whole world by means of his mystical incantations, which resemble the morning clang of instruments breaking the night of unconsciousness caused by the bite of a fanged and rabid serpent, has become an unequalled Mṛtyuñjaya (conqueror of Death, a name of Śiva), in sporting with poison, another Nīla-Kaṇṭha, (blue-throat,[45] another epithet of Śiva).

26. By whom was formed in *Rāḍha*, in the arid boundaries of land bordering a village situated on a wild road, a reservoir of water which fills the water jars, the desires and the minds of travellers sunk in fatigue ; and of which the beds of lotuses are abandoned by the bees fascinated by the reflected shadows of the lotus-like faces of beauteous damsels who have bathed on its banks.

27. By him this stone (image of) the adorable Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu), by which the face of the earth is adorned, was fixed like a bridge for crossing the ocean of material existence. Which, being the dark-blue frontal mark of the moon-like face of the eastern quarter, is to the earth (as it were) a lotus used sportively for an ear-ring, the *Pārijātā*[46] tree of this world, the bestower of completion of designs.

28. By him was erected this splendid temple, whose glory is exalted in emulation of the mountain of (Śiva), the destroyer of *Tripura*, and which like Hari (Viṣṇu), is distinguished by the mark called *Śrī Vatsa*,[47] and by the trembling discus. Which (temple) having overcome *Vaijayanta* (the place of Indra) waves out a flag in the sky. Beholding the beauty of which temple, Girīśa (Śiva) no longer desires Kailāśa.

29. He (Bhava-Deva), placed in that house of Viṣṇu in the innermost sanctuaries, the images of Nārāyaṇa, Ananta and Nṛsiṃha, as the Vedas in the mouths of Brahmā.

[87] 30. He gave to this (temple) an offering to Hari[48] a hundred damsels, with eyes like those of a young deer, who are mistaken for celestial dancers sojourning on the earth, who with a glance resort to life Kāma, although he was burnt up by Ugra-dṛk, (fiery-eye, i.e., Śiva), who are the prison-houses of the impassioned, the abode of melody, dalliance, and beauty united.

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[44] The meaning of this surname is not apparent. It is compounded of three word *bāla*, "young", ignorant", etc , *valabhī*, "the frame of a thatch, a turret"; also I believe the name of a city and a dynasty, and *bhujaṅga*, "a snake, and adulterer".

[45] Śiva is said to have swallowed the poison produced, among other things, at the churning of the ocean ; the only effect it produced on the god was a blue mark on his throat, whence this epithet. This verse celebrates Bhava Deva's excellent knowledge of antidotes.

[46] The name of a celestial tree which grants all desires.

[47] A peculiar mark on the breast of Viṣṇu, said to be a curl of hair twisting to the right.

[48] The compound word *harimedhase*, here translated "an offering to Hari", has given much trouble ; and the sense at last adopted does not appear very satisfactory. The word *medhas* is not found in Dictionaries : it is substituted by a grammatical rule, for *medhā* "understanding"; but only when compounded with a negative, or with *du*, *ra*, *su*, *manda*, or *alpa*. The meaning here given thus arrived at, the word *medha* is given in Wilson as meaning "an offering", and is derived from the root *medh* by adding the affix *ata* : it has therefore been supposed that this word *medhas* may be formed by affixing *asun* to the same root, with the same meaning.

31. He truly made in front of the temple a pool, which is a market of purity alone, the water of which is pure and sparkling as an emerald, which, displaying under the form of a reflection in the water, the exact scene of Viṣṇu's deceiving the Hydra,[49] appears most splendid.

32. He on all sides of the temple formed an excellent garden, the quintessence of the earth, the vessel into which the delight of all eyes distils, the place of repose of Anaṅga (the god of love) wearied with the conquest of the three worlds.

33. This eulogium was composed by his dear friend, the learned Śrī Vācaspati, the chief of Brāhmaṇas. Let this golden zone, like a beautiful form of fame, remain on the loins of this pure edifice until the destruction of the world ! [50]............................
.....................in the year 32.

34. This eulogium is upon Bhaṭṭa Śrī Bhava Deva, surnamed Bāla Valabhī Bhujaṅga.

Kotitirthesvara :—About a quarter of a mile to the E.N.E. of the last, there is, on the edge of a small mango tope, a dilapidated old temple about 40 feet high with a corresponding porch. It is dedicated to the lord of ten millions of sacred pools, whence its name *Koṭitīrtheśvara.* Its material is a bluish-grey, coarse basalt, and not, as in the case of the temples already noticed, brick-red sandstone. All the temples which are built of this basalt are comparatively plain, the material not being well adapted for fine carvings ; and their make is such as to leave no doubt in my mind that they belong to a different and a much earlier age. Even then these were not the earliest temples built at Bhuvaneśvara, for, on examining the broken walls of the Koṭitīrtheśvara, I found that it had been built of stones which had originally belonged to some other edifice, as a great many of them had elaborate carvings on those faces which were inside the walls : the half-fallen walls have now brought them to light. A few of the carvings appeared to me to be of a Buddhist character, and it is probable that old temples and *caityas* of the Buddhists have contributed the materials for this edifice.

Behind this temple there is a tank lined with stones, and having a flight of steps on the west side. This is the repository of the waters of ten million sacred pools, and thousands of pilgrims bathe in it to wash off their accumulated sins. But religiously most holy as the waters are, physically it is of a dull, opaque, greenish colour, and full of confervæ.

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[49] Referring to the story of Kṛṣṇa's conquering the one hundred and ten headed serpent Kālīya in the river Yamunā near Vṛndāvana.

[50] From hence to the end of the thirty-fourth line there are evident traces of letters, but they are illegible. [See opening remark : the missing sentence consists of nothing more than the month (illegible) and the year, "*Samvat 32*" distinctly visible.—Ed.].

Brahmesvara :—To the east of the last, at a distance of a little over half a mile, there is a magnificent temple, most sumptuously carved, and having a porch to match. Unlike all other temples at Bhuvaneśvara, it is built on a high mound formed into a terrace. It is singular too in having its interior as well as its exterior most elaborately carved and decorated; in all other temples, not excepting the Great Tower, the carving being confined to the outside. The divinity of the place is a *liṅgam* of small size, and devoid of the Yoni mark. According to the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* (Chapter 14) Śaṃkara, after an elaborate exposition of the merits of Bhuvaneśvara as his chosen seat and secret retreat on earth, advised Brahmā to erect a temple at a distance of 1130 fathoms to the north-east of the Great Tower; and Viśvakarmā built the temple in compliance with Brahmā's instructions; and the temple now existing is believed by the pious to be the same which Brahmā established after his interview with Mahādeva, whence its name Brahmeśvara or the Lord of Brahmā. But whatever be the claim to antiquity of the *liṅgam,* the temple has no such pretension. The inscription referred to under the head of Ananta-Vāsudeva, (p.[83]), describes it as a monument erected by a pious lady named Kolāvatī, mother of Udyotaka Keśarī. Udyotaka is said to be the 7th from Janamejaya; but this Janamejaya has not been defined. According to two copper-plate inscriptions published by Babu Raṅgalāla Banerji in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, the father of Yayāti, the founder of the Keśarī dynasty, was Janamejaya. If this be the prince meant, and the descendants be supposed to have belonged to a junior branch, the age of Udyotaka would fall at about the middle of the 8th century. But if we take this Janamejaya to be the same with the 12th prince of the Keśarī line who reigned in 754 to 763, the time of his seventh successor would be placed in the third quater of the 9th century The genealogy given in the inscription includes the names successively of: 1, Janamejaya; 2, Dīrgharava; 3, Apavara; 4, Vicitra (he belonged to a junior branch and a son of Apavara followed on his dying without issue); 5, Abhimanyu; 6, Caṇḍihara (wife Kolāvatī); 7, Udyotaka. The 4th is described to have come from Teliṅgānā, and assumed the sovereignty of his cousin in Orissa. But the temple records of Puri do not recognise any of these names, except the first. The surname Keśarī, however, shows that the princes belonged to the dynasty established by Yayāti, but being members of a junior branch, had to occupy a subordinate position as chieftains of a small principality included in Orissa. The character used in the inscription would place it between the 8th and the 10th centuries, and, taking the second Janamejaya of the Keśarī line to be the prince named, I take the inscription, and consequently the temple, to be of the 3rd quarter of the 9th century. The florid style of ornamentation used in the decoration of the temple would place it at about the same time.

[88] The translation by Babu Saradā Prasād Cakravarty of the record are copied below from the *Journal af the Asiatic Society*, Vol.VII, pp. 558 *et. seq.*

1. The moon, perfect in his digits, (full) born with Śrī from the midst of Kṣira Samudra (the sea of milk) when churned by the Mandāra mountain whirling with the chief of the serpents used as a rope by Brahmā, Upendra (Viṣṇu), Maheśvara, Indra and Bāli;—enlightens the three regions with his swollen beams and nectars!

2. In his line was born rājā Janamejaya, who was of moon-like fame, master of the world, incomparable, destroyer of his enemies, and the owner of Teliṅga ; and who drew to himself the fortune (Lakṣmī) of the rājā of Uḍḍra who was killed by his Kunta (a weapon), while their antagonist's elephants were overcome with fatigue fighting with their tusks.

3. He (Janamejaya) was a celebrated emperor, master of the kingdom of seven limbs,[51] of wonderful understanding in power and morals, charitable, most virtuous, a hero, and, like rājā Yayāti, an ornament of the earth ; and who deprived the lovely wives of his inimical rājās of their pride of lovely tresses[52] ; and whose lawful deeds and conduct remained unchangeable from his childhood.

4. After him his son Dīrgharava became rājā, who was a great Kalpa tree, the very crown-jewel of princes, modest, of boundless spirit, steadiness, riches, gravity, depth of knowledge, wise in producing prosperity and three sorts of power,[53] and success,[54] a hero and destroyer of his enemies, and who had qualities like that of a Mahāratha (a warrior fighting in a car) whose fame is celebrated.

5. From him was born the powerful rājā named Apavara as the second Paraśurāma, who suppressed his enemies by his invincible hand as with a thunderbolt, and became great through the merits of poets, and whose spirit was warm like the sun in midday.

6. When he, the best of rājās, departed into heaven without issue, and all his kingdom was laid waste by various warriors, how long a time passed away in various ways, when the elephant-powered hero (Vicitravīra) was in a different country (Teliṅga).

7. Vicitravīra (who was another descendant of Janamejaya, and celebrated everywhere on the earth as a wonderful hero), was placed in his place. From him was born his fortunate son Abhimanyu, and from him was born Caṇḍihara who was powerful and spirited like him (his father). He was made king by all his ministers.

8. He reigned impartially, cherishing all his servants, ministers, people, those who sought refuge, kinsmen, and desired friends, and made both his kingdoms indisputable, who was the cause of delight of all the earth, and whose lily-like feet were enlightened by the splendour of the head-jewels of many prostrate rājās.

9. From him arose Udyotaka Keśarī, like the sun from the eastern mountain, illuminating the earth and heaven by his lustre, radiant as the sun and moon-beams ; who was rich and the crown-jewel of the circle of earth defended by its four oceans ; and who was a conqueror of earth, like Māndhātā, Pṛthu, and Bharata.

10. Who, having defeated the whole force of his enemy, the Sinhala, Coḍa and Gauḍa (countries) as it were in child-play, and with well-armed warriors and a number

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[51] The limbs of government, or as we say 'sinews of war' are horses, elephants, fighting men, paṇḍits, merchants, etc. See allusion to the same in the Burmese Bell Inscription, p. 294.

[52] The Hindu women are forbidden by the Śāstras to beautify their hair after the death of their husbands.

[53] Powers derived from magnamity, exertion and private advice.

[54] The success of gaining land, gold and friend.

of elephants in battles conquered the whole earth, causing numberless rājās to bow down their heads; who was victorious, and who made the tortoise, oppressed with the weight of the earth, sink down by the heavy march of his bright army, containing an *akṣauhiṇī*.[55]

11. His mother, named Kolāvatī was a daughter of the solar and the chief queen of the lunar line; whose fame is a number of flags above the earth and, like the whirlwind ascending up, and like a hand going up with exertion, as if to destroy the spots of the moon.

[89] 12. By that Kolāvatī was caused to be erected this cloud-touching temple, with four beautiful halls, for four other gods, which is like a tree without branches in interrupting the speed of the sun's car (ray ?) like a crown over this earth and the king of fame, of Brahmeśvara, who destroys the sins of worshippers, and gives salvation to those who touch (his image) at Ekāmra, the holy place.

13. Whom (Śiva) the holy Brahmā, Lord of the three regions, having bathed his emblem, Moon, the golden spot situated in the centre of the mountain Lokāloka, the seven oceans and islands, with the water of Gaṅgā is worshipping day and night. This is the very Śiva Brahmeśvara.

14. This temple shines above, adorning all the firmament, like the summit of a mountain, or the evening lamp of the assembly of the youthful goddesses; from it all the regions have been lighted up by the lustre of the rays issuing from the golden Kalasa (pinnacle) shining on its summit.

15. By her (Kolāvatī) were given some beautiful women to him (Śiva), who had eyes like that of the fickle Khañjanā (wagtail) and who were bright like the sparkling and immovable lightnings of the sky by the exquisite beauty of their limbs, adorned with gemmy ornaments, of lovely heavy-swollen bosoms, piercing through the eyes of men, like the beam of their own eye.

16. Puruṣottama Bhaṭṭa, the best of poets, indited this eulogy, which spreads the white fame of the rājās of the lunar line; who was learned in the Vedas, grammar, political science, poetry, logic, etc., etc., and like Brahmā, of true, pure and humble understanding, and (born) of an innocent family.

17. So long as the earth with its mountains, forests and seas, the sun and moon which are the two eyes of the regions, and the Auttenapadi (the north polar star) which is above the earth, shall endure, so long may this eulogy exist as nectar in the mouth of every one. On the 3rd of this light half of Phālguṇa of the Samvat 18, of the victorious reign of Rājā Udyotaka Keśarī Deva, who was most rich, king of kings, a rājā of the lunar line, and lord of Kaliṅga.

To the west of the temple, close by its terrace, there is a large tank called Brahma Kuṇḍa, and its sin-rinsing merits are lauded in high terms by the *Ekāmra Purāṇa*; but, being situated far away from the Great Tower, very few pilgrims go to it; and neither the temple nor the tank is much cared for now. The priest, who worships the

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[55] An army consisting of 189, 350 foot, 65, 610 horses, 21, 870 chariots and 21, 870 elephants.

liṅgam in the temple, comes every morning, but lives far away in the village, and there is no watch or guard of any kind to protect the temple. When I visited the place, there were several heads of stray cattle on the terrace and inside the porch.

Bhaskaresvara : To the north-east of the last, in the midst of a wide open plain, there is an old temple of a peculiar make, quite unlike the other temples of Bhuvaneśvara. It is named Bhāskareśvara of "the lord of the solar god." The *Ekāmra Purāṇa* has it that the gods of heaven, when informed by Brahmā of the unrivalled sanctity of the Mango Forest on the sea-shore, desired the thousand-rayed divinity, Sūrya, to proceed at once to the place, promising to follow him in due course. Sūrya came, and, charmed with the transcendental beauty of the place, got the celestial architect Viśvakarmā to erect a temple at a distance of 1,500 fathoms to the north-east of the Great Town of Kīrtivāsa. The temple erected, he established in it a noble *liṅgam*, and devoutly worshipped it with the choicest offerings. Kīrtivāsa, gratified by this devotion, offered him a blessing, and at the request of the devotee, promised to be ever-present in the *liṅgam* established by him.

This story is of course generally believed by the faithful to be true, but there are certain facts connected with the temple which induce me to think that in it we have an instance of converting a Buddhist monument to Hindu usage. The temple is built of basalt, which, as I have said before, indicates greater antiquity than red sandstone. The style of building is also indicative of an older date than that of the Great Temple. The general absence of sculptured ornaments, and the use of stucco on decayed old mouldings are also peculiar to it. The piers have been repaired several times with stucco, and, to prevent the stones from exfoliating, the whole structure has been plastered over with lime-cement. These mouldings and plastering are now very much decayed, and the temple looks weather-worn and crumbling. But its most remarkable peculiarity is that it is apparently two-storeyed, the terrace round the temple forming the first storey, and the temple itself the second. The separate entrances of these two storeys are distinctly shown in the photograph (plate XLIV). The terrace or basement measures 48-4 by 47-8, the height being 11 feet. The temple proper stands on this, and at one time was over 50 feet, but its top is broken, the Kalasa and the Amlaśilā are gone, and only about 40 feet of the height now remains in *situ*. The body of the temple is a square of 31 feet 4 inches with a small porch 11 feet broad, and 4 feet deep. The doorway is 7-9 by 3-6. The sides of the temple have niches, each holding an alto-relievo of the Devī, 3 feet high. The interior of the temple is 13-10 square. The floor is about 3 feet above the level of the surrounding country, and from its centre rises a *liṅgam* of sandstone 9 feet 3 inches long, and 12 feet 8 inches in girth, which gives it a diameter of over 4 feet. Its cylindrical portion is perfect, round and polished, but the top is broken, showing that it is a fragment of a huge monolithic column. The second storey is accessible from the roof of the terrace, and the centre of its floor is pierced, or, more correctly speaking, the floor is so arranged as to form a gallery round the *liṅgam* which rises above its level. Close by the *liṅgam*, there is a flight of stone steps, 8 feet high, and the officiating priest daily ascends it to reach the top of the *liṅgam*, and thence pours water and offers flowers and rice as the Śāstras require, for its adoration. Pilgrims by hundreds go round the gallery, and therefrom pay their adoration to the lord of the god of light. It is impossible to resist the conclusion that the *liṅgam* is a portion of an Aśoka lāṭ to which it bears a close resemblance; that it had stood there an honored monument of that great emperor; that when the place passed from the Buddhists to the Hindus, the column was somehow broken; and that the latter have since built over the lower part of the column a temple to give it shelter, and named it a *liṅgam*. It was the policy of the Brahmins not ruthlessly to sweep away the monuments of their rivals, and thereby offend the masses who were more or less attached to them, but to convert them, whenever possible, to objects of Hindu faith; and the shaft of the column could not be better **[90]** and more easily utilized than by naming it a *liṅgam*. This conversion must have taken place in the reign of Yayāti, or that of his immediate successor, and the temple must therefore belong to the close of the 5th, or the beginning of the 6th, century. Its design and details preclude the possibility of its being of a later age.

Rajarani Deul :—About half a mile to the west of Bhāskareśvara, still within the area of the plain on which it stands, there is a large temple which was once a magnificent structure, but is now in a very dilapidated condition. It stands in the middle of what was once a beautiful flower garden, but it is now overgrown with brambles. The temple faces the east and has a porch in front. Both were built at the same time, with dressed brick-red sandstone, but without any carvings. The carved ornaments were then completed on the body of the temple, and commenced on the porch, but, owing to some cause or other, never carried forward to any great extent. A few ornaments round the doorway, and the two side niches were all that were completed; but chisel-marks on the stones show the outlines of the works which were at one time intended to be executed, and, judging from them, it is evident that the porch was intended to be as sumptuous as the body of the temple. The cause which prevented the completion of the carvings, likewise prevented the consecretion of the structure. Hence it is that there is no sacred image of any kind in the sanctum, and the structure has received no distinctive name. The image would have been obviously a *liṅgam*, and it would have been called the *īśvara* or 'lord' of the dedicator, whose name would have formed the first member of the compound name. The dedicator was probably the queen of one of the Keśarī kings, who, dying before the completion of the work, left the temple to remain as it was, and it has since run into decay; the people, in the absence of a special name, calling it Rājarānī Deül, or the "temple of the royal queen". Hence it is, too, that the temple has not been referred to in any of the several Sanskrit works on the sacred fanes of Bhuvaneśvara. Judging from the material, brick-red sandstone, and the style of the work, the most florid, I take the age of the pile to be the 9th century.

The ground plan of the temple is shewn in plate XLIX. It is, as usual at Bhuvaneśvara, founded on a square, but its position is that of a lozenge, and its projections have been so carried out, as to produce a lozenge with serrated sides. The area of the chamber does not correspond with this outline; nor is it a perfect square as most of the sanctuaries of Bhuvaneśvara are. It is square in position, and has the front side straight; but the other three sides are broken by three-fold projections. The extreme width of the chamber is 12 feet, and its length 14 feet. The walls are on an average 10 feet thick. The passage leading from the porch to the sanctuary is in its widest part 9 feet, then 7 feet and then 4 feet. The porch is oblong, the greatest length extending from side to side. It is, both externally and internally, diversified by many projections. The extreme length in the inside being 28 feet, and on the outside 40 feet. The height of the temple is 63 feet, and that of the porch 30 feet. A photograph of the temple is shown in plate XLI. Its scale, however, is too small to show to advantage the details of the temple. The plinth is deep, and of the pattern of the Great Tower, but the projections, carved out in the form of buttresses, look more like attached pillars than integral parts of the building. Each projection above the stylobate is carved into niches one above the other ; then comes a series of mouldings formed of seven horizontal bands, and thereupon a spire, capped, with a flat dome and a pinnacle. The body of the spire is diversified by perpendicular ribs intersected by horizontal bands. The central projection on each side is the highest, having three lateral one on each flank. Of these lateral projections the middlemost is the highest, and of the two side ones, the outermost one being the lowest. The niches are filled with statues, each three feet high, and executed with great vigour and elegance, the subjects being men and women in various attitudes, some being obscene. One of them, closely resembling the statue of the Venus de Medici has been already noticed (*ante* Vol.I,p [59]). The young lady engaged in writing something on a tablet (Fig.117 of plate XXVI of Vol. I) is also from this temple. Others are mostly of the type common in the Great Tower ; as also the rampant lines and elephants, which fill up the niches in the receding spaces between the buttresses. The floral bands round the niches and over horizontal mouldings are of the richest pattern, and several of these have been figured in the first volume (see plates, VIII,17 ; IX,18 ; X,23 and XXXV,145). Some of the brackets are also particularly handsome, and two of them have been figured in Vol. I (plate XV, fig.40 and plate XXXVI, fig. 144). To describe and figure them all would require more space and a far greater number of illustrations than what I am in a position to devote to them. Suffice it to say that for elegance, beauty, and finish the temple affords one of the finest specimens of Orissan art, and is worthy of the highest consideration. It is to be regretted that vandalism has committed the greatest havoc in this beautiful and noble structure. As an unconsecrated temple, unprotected and uncared for, it has afforded to travellers a mine of statues and carved stones, and they have not failed to make the most of it. General Stewart and Colonel Mackenzie, I am sorry to add, have been the greatest sinners in this respect, for they carried away the largest number of statues, and, in the attempt to detach the statues, dismantled large portions of the niches, and sadly defaced the building. Some of the stones brought away by Colonel Stewart are now deposited in the Indian Museum.

[91]. **Muktesvara Temple** :—About three hundred yards to the west of the last, there was once a mango tope, which, having been the dwelling place of some hermits,

is known by the name of Śiddhāraṇya or the "grove of the perfect beings." Most of the trees have since fallen under the axe, but still there are several which give to the locality an umbrageous appearance. It has also the benefit of several natural springs. The place was, therefore, selected for the location of a great number of temples, of which more than a score are still entire. Of these the most worthy of notice are Mukteśvara, Kedāreśvara, Śiddheśvara and Paraśurāmeśvara. The first of these is the smallest of the four, but it is at the same time the handsomest—a charming epitome of the perfection of Orissan temple architecture—faded—colourless—joyless—but beautiful past effacing even by the decay of a thousand years, which has furrowed its brow, and wrought wrinkles on its once glistening surface. According to European architects the most important element of beauty in architecture is size; but the Orissan artist, in this instance, has so ingeniously adapted the ornaments to the scale of his work that the effect is the most charming; and the mind, wrapt in admiration by the beauty of the details, fails to detect the smallness of the structure on which they are set. The temple is barely 35 feet high, and the porch 25 feet; but the parts are so adjusted, so adapted to each other, that the eye fails to detect anything puny, or trite, or common-place in any part of the edifice. The ornamentation is of the most sumptuous description, sculptured and finished with the greatest care and taste. The floral bands are neater and better executed than in most of the temples, the bas-reliefs sharp and impressive, the statuettes vigorous and full of action with drapery well disposed, and the disposition of the whole elegant and most effective. The subjects of the statuettes are also more varied and interesting, and less objectionable on the score of decency, than what obtain in the larger temples, in which the frequent repetitions of the same subjects produce an unpleasent sense of samenss. Among the subjects may be noticed a lady mounted on a rampant elephant and striking her uplifted sword against a giant armed with a sword and shield; a figure of Annapūrnā presenting some alms to his lord Śiva (Vol. I, plate XXIII, fig 83); semi-ophide females canopied under the expanded hood of five or seven-headed cobras (plate V, vol. I); lions mounted on elephants; groups of elephants fighting with lions (Vol. I, plate XX, 656); lions capped with elephantine trunks (Vol. I, plate XX, 65*a*); demsels in various attitudes, some dancing, others playing on the Mṛdaṅga, or the Vinā, or the Tāmbura; crouching monsters supporting heavy weights; saints worshipping Śiva; an emaciated hermit giving lessons to a disciple; another reading a palm leaf MS. placed on a crosslegged stool; a lady standing under an umbrella; another standing by a door with a pet parrot on her hand; another enjoying the cool shade of a tree; another standing on a tortoise. This last is evidently intended for the goddess of the earth. The head dresses of most of these ladies are particularly interesting, and most of the chignons shown on plate XXV of Vol I have been taken from them. The scroll works, bosses and friezes are also worthy of special note, as they display marked excellence in design, and great delicacy of execution (Vol. I, pl. VII, 11 and 12; XI, 24 and 26; XV, 41; XVI, 44; XVII, 55 and 57; and XXXVI, 143). The monkey scroll given in plate XII of Vol. I, is the best specimen of this class of work.

The interior of the temple is barely 7′ 7″ square, but on the outside it measures

18 feet. The porch is 26′ on the outside, and 15′ 7″ x 12′ in the inside (Plate III, Vol.I). The interior of the latter has two pilasters on each side for the support of the roof, and the ceiling is an elaborate and most beautiful piece of work (plate XXXVIII). The peculiarity occurs also in the Brahmeśvara porch, which has a carved ceiling, but that is not nearly so rich. All the other ceilings of Bhuvaneśvara are plain, and show, in most instances, the iron beams on which they are supported.

Right in front of the porch is an archway or Toran, 15 feet high (plate XXXVII). It is supported on two columns of excellent and elaborate workmanship, totally unlike every other structure of the kind at Bhuvaneśvara. Over the arch there are two reclining female figures placed very like supporters in a coat-of-arms, or angelic figures shown on pediments in European architecture. As an ornamental appendage to the temple the archway is particularly graceful, but the people say it was erected not with that view. Though the presiding divinity of the temple is immovable, he is, by proxy of course, entertained, among others, with the swing festival, on which occasion a chair is hung by two iron rings fixed to the arch, and therein the image is placed and kept swinging. very much in the same way in which the Lord of the Universe celebrates the feast (*ante* p.[81]).

Proceeding from the pillars there runs each way a line of low parapet wall with panelled sides and carved battlemented coping. It surrounds the temple on every side, and parts of it are shewn in plate XXXVII. The panelling is remarkably chaste and beautiful. The space in front of the Toran is paved with sandstones, forming a court-yard for the devout to assemble and behold the divinity in his swing. Towards the west corner of this surrounding wall there is a stone platform, rising in three steps, and forming a place where the divinity is occasionally placed (by proxy again) in chill winter mornings to bask in the sun. The attending priests find the place much more pleasant, and in the cool of the evening many of them congregate there. On the south side of the parapet there are three small buildings, one intended for an out-office, the other two, very small chambers, 5 feet square, contain in the middle each a vat, which is fed by a subterranean fountain. There are three other vats on this side, but without any covering.

[92] The name of the temple in the mouth of the people is invariably Mukteśvara, the "Lord of the emancipated," (*mukta*) ; and in two manuscript works, the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* and the *Ekāmra-candrikā*, I have found this name reproduced, but in a second codex of the *Candrika*, and in that of the *Saṛṇārdrī mahodadhi*, I find it written Muktiśvara or "the lord of salvation," (*mukti.*) Either name may be correct, but which was first applied to the temple I cannot determine.

Close behind the temple there is an oblong tank 100 x 25 feet, lined with stone revetments on three sides, and having a flight of steps on the fourth, which is shaded by a small tope of Nāgakeśara tree, (*Mesua ferrea*). The trees, when I saw them, were the largest and handsomest I had ever seen of their kind. In the early part of December when I saw it, the tank was full, and I was told that it derived from a neighbouring spring, its supply of water, that the supply was larger than its requirements, and that the surplus had to be got rid of by a tunnel leading to another tank to the south-east, which it reaches after passing through five small vats on the east of the temple ; I also saw the pipe through which water was flowing in a small current and falling through a crocodile-shaped gargoyle into the Gaurī Kuṇḍa ; but I could not see the connection of the tunnel with the tank. The water is slightly opalescent in colour, but beautifully clear. The tank has no reputation for sanctity, and no one resorts to it for any use.

Gauri Kunda :—Immediately to the south of the last, within a distance of about thirty feet there occurs the Kuṇḍa above referred to ; it has the alternative name of Kedāra Kuṇḍa. The ground round it is about three feet lower than what it is round the first named tank, and is densely shaded by a number of mango trees. The tank is 70 feet long, and 28 feet broad, and has a depth of 16 feet. Its sides are perpendicular, being lined by stone revetments ; but on the south side there is a flight of stone steps, 20 feet long, and altogether 10 feet broad : the bottom is formed of small boulders. Its water is tepid, but not so as to be in any way injurious to fish ; for I saw a number of them—small ones—playing about in excellent condition. This was the more remarkable as there was no moss or vegetation of any kind, except a few decayed mango leaves which occasionally drop in, on which they could live. The water was beautifully clear, and every part of the bottom was visible through a depth of 8 feet of water. Its taste was alse excellent, and nowhere else in Bhuvaneśvara can water be had of such quality. The tiny streamlet of spring water noticed above, flows into the tank through an orifice of about 2 square inches, and is barely sufficient to meet the requirements of the people' for the water, being the best available in all Bhuvaneśvara, is taken away for drinking purpose by all who can afford the labour ; but the tank is always full, and there is on the south-east corner a waste-pipe the end of which is carved into the form of a giant head, and through it flows out a larger stream than what flows into the tank. This waste water is sufficient for the irrigation of over twenty to thirty acres of arid laterite soil. This shows that the Kuṇḍa has a spring in its bottom. Such a tank, in so sacred a place as Bhuvaneśvara, could not but command the highest veneration, and local legends assign to it the greatest sanctity. According to the *Śiva Purāṇa*, the tank was excavated by the goddess Gaurī with her own hands, and endowed with the most transcendental virtues. To those who resort to it, it bestows beauty of person, good fortune, and freedom from all sins. The conviction is that a devotee who, putting a few seeds of the black sessamum on his head, bathes in it for a year, beginning with the 9th of the wane in any month, obtains whatever he desires. The *Kapila Saṃhitā* repeats this story ; but it is not pleased with the slow progress of virtue attained by a year's penance. Accordingly it says that a single sip of the water is enough to emancipate the drinker from all future transmigrations.

Kedaresvara Temple :—Close by the ghat there are some small rooms used as kitchen and dwellings, and against the outer wall of one of them are kept a large alto-rilievo figure of Hanumān, about 8 feet high, and another of Durgā standing on the lion. Both are daily worshipped. The former is in sandstone, and bedaubed with red-lead. The latter is formed of chlorite, and has the finest female head to be seen in Bhuvaneśvara.

To the right of this there is a medium-sized temple of the usual make, with a corresponding Mohan, both built of grey sandstone, and devoid of sculptured ornaments (plate XLVI). Its height is 41 feet, and its angles are so canted as to produce an almost circular ground plan (plate XLVIII). The Mohan is square, and, in the interior, has pilasters for the support of the ceiling, but no sculptures. The *Brahma Purāṇa* assigns to this temple a remote antiquity, and its sanctity is extolled in the highest terms by [93] the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* and the *Kapila Saṃhitā.* Looking to the material and make of the pile, I have no reason to doubt that it is much older than the temple last noticed, and probably older than the Great Tower itself, being of the same age with the temples of Bhāskareśvara and Koṭitīrtheśvara ; but that would only carry it to the middle of the 6th century, earlier than which it cannot be. There is an inscription in it on the righ jamb of the doorway, but it is in so smudgy a state that I could not read more than a few words of it. The letters are cut into the stone of the wall, and not into a separate slab, and are of a modern type, probably not older than the twelfth century. It was evidently recorded long after the erection of the temple.

Right in front of this temple there is a small one dedicated to Gaurī, the presiding divinity of which gives her name to the tank noticed above. The temple has no architectural pretensions of any kind, and is obviously of a modern date ; but the image it contains is well-executed and worthy of notice. It is to this image that the Lord of the Universe is usually married by proxy on the sixth on the waxing moon in the month of May (*ante*, page [81]).

Siddhesvara Temple—Fifty yards to the north-west of Mukteśvara, there is a decayed old temple of no architectural importance, but of considerable antiquity and sanctity. It is older than Kedāreśvara and other temples which surround it, and, though now neglected, was once the most sacred spot on this side of Bhuvaneśvara. It was, according to the *Ekāmra Purāṇa*, erected by the celestial architect Viśvakarmā, by order of Viṣṇu ; and, since Viṣṇu attained his perfection (*siddhi*) through the blessing of Śiva, the presiding divinity was named Siddheśvara. The blessing went further, and said, "Whoever will worship the divinity will become perfect"; and many sages, dwelling in its neighbourhood, attained to whatever they desired. Hence the name of the locality, Siddheśvara-vana, or "the grove of the perfected." The temple is 47 feet high, and has a well-proportioned porch (Plate XL). To the east of it there is a temple which the discus of Viṣṇu established, whence called Cakreśvara, otherwise called Śaṃkareśvara, another called Śakreśvara, a spring behind it to the west, and several small temple of no pretension, and more or less in ruins. These are respectively assigned to Śaktyeśvara, Vāyaveśvara, Varuṇeśvara, Dhanadeśvara, Pāvakeśvara and Candreśvara, the lords of the different deities whose name they bear, and who caused the temples to be erected by Visvakarmā.

Parasuramesvara Temple—The last temple of the group is Parasurāmeśvara. It stands at a distance of about 200 yards to the west of the tank, and in size and richness of detail is far superior to the other temples of the group. It is over 60 feet high, and is most elaborately sculptured all over. Its ground plan is a square, and the angles of the spire are left unchamfered, so the square character is preserved throughout Its porch is oblong, and profusely covered with bas-reliefs representing processions of horses and elephants in the upper linear bands under the cornice, and scenes from the life of Rāma in the lower bands and panels. The roof is peculiar ; it is formed of a sloping terrace, running along the middle of which is a clear-storey with a sloping roof crowned with a flat one in the middle. The clear-storey has a range of six windows in front, and twelve on each side (Plate XLVII). This plan of bringing light into the Mohan is unknown elsewhere in Bhuvaneśvara, except in the Mohan of the Vaitāl Deül, and seems to have been adopted more for its peculiarity and beauty than for light, inasmuch as the two doors on each side, and the one in front of the body of the porch, are quite sufficient to give it as much light as is desirable. It recalls to mind the clear-storey of Saxon churches, but as neither the Paraśurāmeśvara nor the Vaital Deül can be said to be of a later age than the 9th century, it cannot indicate a European paternity. It has obviously been borrowed from the Vihāra Halls of the Buddhists, who resorted to this plan of bringing light in some of their cave chapels ; but done in masonry, the Hindu specimen is more elaborate and more artistically finished than what the Buddhists produced. I take the temple to be of the 9th century from the similitude of its workmanship and material with those of the Mukteśvara and the Rājarānī temples. In the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* the divinity of this temple occurs under the name of Daityeśvara, from the fact of Kīrti and Vāsa having, by order of Śiva, worshipped it first.

Alabukesvara Temple—To the north-east of Paraśurāmeśvara, at a distance of nearly 800 feet, there is a temple of reddish sandstone of the same quality as that which has been used for the Great Tower, and its name indicates that it had been dedicated by the sovereign who completed the Tower. The name is derived from that of Alābu [94] Keśarī,—a nick-name of the monarch who is known in history under the name of Lalāṭendu Keśarī. The *Ekāmra Purāṇa*, however, does not admit this. According to it, the name is derived from the gourd (*alābu*) alms-bowel of Śiva, which here assumed the form of a sacred tank, and gave its name both to the tank and the temple near it, which was built by Śiva himself. This story was got up to cast a halo of antiquity which the name of the king could not. The temple is a lofty one, but of plain workmanship. Its Mohan is large and commodious, but of no architectural beauty (Plate XLII). In front of it there are several small temples, and the sacred well stands on one side of it.

Nakesvara Temple—About 200 yards to the west of the last there is another temple of the same character and size (Plate XLII). It is called Nākeśvara, and has a higher Mohan than the last. The pediments on these latter are elaborate, and richly sculptured ; but there is no corresponding richness in the ornamentation of the body of the temple. The fane is now deserted, and I saw no trace of any priest or *pūjā* paid to its divinity, which is a misshapen block of stone doing duty for a *liṅgam*.

Uttaresavra Temple—Reference has already been made to the mango tope on the north bank of the Vindusāgara tank (p. [69]). It is a pleasant place, and now frequently used as encamping-ground for Europeans who visit the temple-city. Its situation and romantic appearance led to its being selected as the site of a hermitage (*āśrama*), and the hermits who dwelt there built, from time to time, a few small temples. The group of temples thus produced comprises no structure of any architectural or artistic importance, and most of the temples are more or less in ruins. But in the local legends the most prominent temple of the group—that dedicated to Uttareśvara, "the Lord of the North," —is held in high estimation. It is said in the *Ekāmra Purāṇa*, that once upon a time Śiva assumed here a terrific form ; his body was of a tawny colour besmeared with ashes, his breast was net-worked by serpents and a garland formed of the stars and planets, his face was fierce and distorted, with three eyes and a big flowing beard, the atmosphere formed his only raiment, on his shoulders was a tiger skin, and in his hands he held a skull and a club mounted with a human skull, around him stood a dreadful host of hobgoblins. To entertain him the Devī assumed most fanciful forms, now tall, anon short, now big, anon small, now thick and bulky and immediately after fleshless with sunken or distorted eyes, hilarious with wine, and singing amidst her demoniac followers. The temple marks the site where this masquerade was played, and it is said to be one of the holiest places on earth, and a visit to it the surest means of securing immediate perfection. The only other temple of the group which attained any distinction is called Bhmīmeśvara, from the circumstance, it is alleged, of Bhīma, one of the Pāṇḍu brothers, having visited the place, and erected the temple to mark his respect for the dread god. Of course the story is pure fiction, and there is nothing to show that any of the Pāṇḍus ever came to the place, even if it could be assumed that it was at the early times of the Pāṇḍus a locality of sufficient importance or interest to be worth visiting.

Ramesvara Temple :—Passing on towards the north-west from this place to the distance of a little over a mile, the pilgrim comes to a place, which was once the seat of royalty. When Yayāti Keśarī first came to Bhuvaneśvara, his palace was erected here, and its ruins—an amorphous mass of rubbish—are still extant. It was then an important quarter of the town, and was known by the name of Aśoka-vana, but whether with reference to the Emperor Aśoka, or any other person, or for any predominance of Aśoka trees, it is not possible now to ascertain. Its propinquity to the northern end of the Khaṇḍagiri hills would suggest the idea that is was closely connected with the caves there, and was the nearest part of the [95] town to it. Hindu mythology carries it to a much earlier date, and associates it with the exile of Rāma. That prince, during his peregrinations, made this only spot his hermitage, and hence its name Rāmāśrama. The temple is 40 x 38 feet on the ground plan, and 78 feet high (Plate XLVIII). It is built of grey sandstone devoid of sculptured ornaments, which shows that it is of an early date. The presiding divinity is a *liṅgam*, a block of stone without any *yoni* accompaniment. Close by the temple is a tank of a moderate size, fed by a subterranean stream from the neighbouring hill. It is called Aśoka-tīrtha. Around and about this tank there are several small temples, one of which is said to have been dedicated by Lakṣmaṇa, the brother ; another by Sītā, the wife ; and a third by Hanumān, the monkey general of Rāma. A temple is also attributed to Bharata, another brother of Rāma, though that worthy did not accompany the exile in his peregrinations. The inconsistency, however, is immaterial, inasmuch as the element of truth in the case of Rāma's visit is not more prominent than in that of his brother. The *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālimīki takes Rāma to the south along the middle of the peninsula, and there is nothing trustworthy to show that he ever came to the eastern coast.

Gosahasresvara Temple :—Close by is a tope, in the centre of which there is a tank called the Gosahasra Hrada, and by its side a temple dedicated to "the lord of the thousand head of kins"—Gosahasreśvara. According to the *Ekāmra Purāṇa*, it was in this tope that the Devī first saw a herd of cattle which poured their milk on the *liṅgam*, and hence she removed it to the vicinity of Vindu-sāgara, where she encountered the demons Kīrti and Vāsa (p [66]). Neither the tank nor the temple is of any antiquarian interest, and the architectural pretensions of the latter are of the slenderest.

Vaital Deul :—From the temple last noticed the itinerary takes the pilgrim to the shrine of Īśāneśvara, which stands at a short distance to the north-east of it. Next come successively Bhadreśvara, Kukkuṭeśvara, Parameśvara, Pūrveśvara, Svarṇakūṭeśvara, Vaidyanātha, Sukṣmāmrātakeśvara, Rudreśvara, Bālakeśvara, *alias* Dākrābhīmeśvara, Utpaleśvara, Jaṭileśvara, Āmrātakeśvara and other temples ; but as these are of no architectural or antiquarian importance, I shall not attempt any description of them. The first important temple I have to notice after them is the Vaitāl Deül. It is situated on the road side to the west of the Vindu-sāgara tank, and is remarkable both for its shape and for the profusion of carved work with which it is decorated. Unlike the other temples of Orissa its spire is four-sided, and ends in a long ridge set off with three kalasas. The body is also four-sided, without any projection or buttress, and the ornamentation is arranged in panels and niches (See Vol. I, plate II). The shape is peculiar to the Southern Indian Gopura or propillon, and has nowhere else in Northern India been adopted for a temple proper. The ornamentation is particularly rich, and several illustrations of its details have been given in volume I, (plates XVIII, 59, 60 ; XXI, 67, 68 ; XXII, 76*a*, 77, 78 ; XXXV, F 3 ; XXXVI, 146). The porch in front of it is of usual Orissan make, but with a clear-storey on top, as is the case with the porch of the Rāmeśvara temple. Its ornamentation was never completed. The walls show the outlines of the designs which were intended to be worked out on it, but only a few were completed. Close by this porch there are several small dwellings and temples, but of recent date, and of no importance. From the character of the material, I am disposed to attribute this temple to the 9th century, and as all the temples of the 9th and even the 10th century are included in the *Ekāmra Purāṇa*, it is to be expected this should also be included in it, as also in the *Ekāmra Candrikā* and in the *Svarṇādri-mahodadhi*, which are of much later dates ; but I have not found its name in any of those works. This is due, however, to my not knowing its proper ancient name. The present name is obviously a very modern popular one, given to it on account of its peculiar shape, and not with reference to the name of its presiding divinity, and the works nowhere refer to any temple without the name of the presiding divinity. There are several names of temples which cannot now be identified, and it is probable that the Vaitāl Deül as one of them. There are two other temples which are under the same predicament, and these are Rājārānī (*ante*, p [90]) and the Sārī Deül, to be noticed lower down.

Somesvara Temple—About 800 feet to the south of the Vaitāl Deül, there is, in the centre of a courtyard, a small temple, richly sculptured all over, and vying in some respects with the beauty of Mukteśvara. It is barely 33 feet high, and 27 feet square on the ground plan. Its Mohan is oblong, being 33 feet long, and 27 feet broad. The ornamentation of this fane is in the style of Mukteśvara, but neither quite so sumptuous, nor so well executed. Close by it there is a large tank lined with laterite blocks, and on the whole in an excellent state of preservation. It bears the name of Pāpanāśinī, "the destroyer of sin," and to it the proxy of Bhuvaneśvara is brought every year to celebrate the festival of Prathāmaṣṭamī (*ante*, p. [77]). Between this temple and the western wall of the courtyard of the Great Tower there are between 30 and 40 temples of different sizes, mostly in a ruinous condition, and some desecrated and forsaken. They all derived their halo from the reflected sanctity of the Great Tower, and were at one time in some repute; but they are not now noticed by pilgrims.

[96] **Sari Deul**—On the north of the Great Tower between the main road, Baḍāḍaṇḍ, and the Vindusāgara tank there are also several temples, but neither so dilapidated nor so neglected. They are connected with private dwellings or maths, and regularly receive visits from the faithful; but only one of them is worthy of special note. It is called Sārī Deül by the people, but that cannot be its original name. Like the Rājārānī Deül and the Vaitāl Deül, it is obviously a nickname, which has, by long usage, cast into oblivion the original name. As the local legends were written long before the nickname got into currency, and the original name is not now known, it has not been possible for me to identify the monument with any of the temples noticed in the legends; but from the character, make, and ornamentation of the temple I have every reason to believe that it belongs to the same age to which the Someśvara and the Vaitāl Deül owe their origin. As one of the minor fanes it is limited to the temple proper and the porch; but its walls are uncommonly thick, and its ornamentation the most florid. The base of the temple is 26 feet square, and the chamber within 12 x 11 feet. The Mohan, at the base, measures 36 feet, but the area within is, in its broadest part, only 12 feet (see plate XLVIII). The height of the temple is 63 feet. The mouldings, finials and bases are of the usual type, and several specimens of them have been shown in Vol. I, (plates X, 21, 22; XIV, 38*a*, 38*b*; XVII, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53). The figure ornaments are also of the usual characher, but less vigorous in conception, and unfinished in execution. There is, however, one peculiarity in the ornamentation of this mounment, which is characteristic; it is the employment of a variety of vases for finials and tops of piers and buttresses. They are of different shapes and sizes, but all chaste and beautiful; some of them recall to mind the shapes of Grecian and Roman vases, and the idea suggests itself that the architect had seen foreign models before he designed them; nor was it impossible for him to obtain such models, as we know from Arrian's *Periplus of the Erythrian Sea*, that foreign intercourse obtained

from many centuries before the date of the temple. The ornamentation is, however, throughout different and the shapes of the vases are not so peculiar as to be impossible of production without copying.

Kapilesvara Road—The road in front of the Great Tower joints the Baḍāḍaṇḍ to the north, and extends about a mile towards the south, as far as the village of Kapileśvara. At one time it was lined on both sides by a large number of temples,--some of them of great size and elaborate workmanship ;—but they are now all desecrated, forsaken, and more or less in ruins,—overgrown with jungle, and the haunts of vermin and wild beasts During the short time I had at my disposal I could not clear them of their surroundings to examine them in detail ; I must, therefore, leave them unnoticed. They had been all built of grey sandstone or basalt, massively but plainly, and must have belonged to an earlier age than the Great Tower. Some of them had open, pillared chaultries before them ; and some one-storeyed, and others two-storeyed, private dwellings around them. The ruins of stone houses indicate that, though now entirely forsaken, this part of the town was formerly the most thickly peopled, and the abode of the higher classes of the community.

Kapilesvara Temple and Tank :—The village of Kapileśvara is situated at the further end of the road. It is a thriving little place, with a population of 1,717 persons as per details given on pages [56],[57]. There are no masonry buildings in it, but the huts of the people are all well built, well raised from the ground, and in very good condition. A good many of them have their fronts white-washed, or painted in fresco with rude designs of men, elephants, monkeys and floral designs. The temple of Kapileśvara stands on the southern edge of the village. Its court-yard, 178 x 172 feet, is surrounded by a thick massive wall of laterite, 8 feet high. In the middle and a little to one side of this area is a masonry platform, 110 x 72 feet, 3 feet high and on it stands an old temple with its threefold appurtenances, the Porch, the Dancing-hall and the Refectory (Plate XLVIII). The temple is, as common everywhere else in Orissa, square in the ground plan, and tapering and cylindrical in the spire. Its base is 19 feet square and about 10 feet away from the edge of the platform, the height being 46 feet. Its material is dressed laterite, ornamented with roughly carved mouldings, bands and bas-reliefs (Plate XLV). The porch is in keeping with this structure, and both of them were evidently built at the same time, and that probably long before the completion of the Great Tower. This is evident not only from the accounts given of them in the *Śiva Purāṇa*, the *Ekāmra Purāṇa*, the *Ekāmra-candrikā*, and the *Kapila Saṃhitā*, but also from the rude primitive character of their architecture, and the the material used for them. The soft friable character of the laterite led to rapid decay, and the necessity was felt, therefore, of protecting it from time to time with coatings of chunam plaster. The Dancing Hall and the Refectory are of a much later date, and they were built expressly with a view to be plastered over ; and their ornamentation therefore does not include any carved work. The last has some fresco paintings of a modern date, and of very questionable character. The east, the north, and the west side of the court-yard are laid out into flower-beds and kitchen gardens ; but on the south side there are several small temples, kitchens and other outoffices—but none of any pretension. The main entrance to the court-yard is on this **[97]** side, and it is accessible by a flight of 12 steps above which it stands. Below the steps, abutting the road leading to them, there is a large tank, 220 x 164 feet, with an average depth of 16 feet. Its sides are lined with flags of sandstone; and it has an excellent ghat formed of a flight of stone steps. The tank is fed from its bottom by a perennial spring, which throws up a larger quantity of water than what can be consumed by the people, or carried off by siccage. A quantity has, therefore, to be discharged by a waste-pipe which carries it to the neighbouring fields for irrigational purposes. The water is pure and limpid, and very much prized by the people. The temple, too, being the only one of any size in this neighbourhood, is largely frequented. And with the offerings of the faithful, and the revenue derived from the lands attached to it (*ante*, p. [56]), it is more cared for, and kept in a better state of repairs than any other temple at Bhuvaneśvara, the Greet Tower not excepted.

The presiding divinity of the temple is a misshapen block of stone which serves the purpose of a *liṅgam*. According to the E*kāmra Purāṇa*, the great saint Kapila performed, in this neighbourhood, a long-protracted penance, which induced Śiva to visit him in person, and offer him blessings. The saint asked three boons; 1st, that Śiva should assume the form of a *liṅgam* for adoration by the saint; 2nd, that he should produce on the spot a sacred pool, which should suffice to cleanse mankind from all sins; and 3rd, that he should grant the remnant of his food to the saint. The boons were forthwith granted, and the *liṅgam* which Śiva became for Kapila is the same which now exists in the temple, and the sacred pool is the tank by its side. With such a story to back them, it is not remarkable that the temple and the tank should enjoy the highest reputation for sanctity. The water of the tank is purer and holier than that of the River Ganges and of a hundred thousand sacred pools put together. And the reward of worshipping the *liṅgam* in the temple ensures identity of the worshipper with Śiva himself. The feasts and fasts celebrated in this temple are the same with those at the Great Tower; but there is a special one named Bhāṇḍabhaṅga. It is celebrated on a Sunday of the wane in the month of Phālguṇa.

The total number of temples in the town of Bhnvaneśvara was, at one time, in the hyperbolic language of the *Ekāmra Purāṇa*, a hundred thousand, and of *liṅgams*, ten millions. A hundredth part of those numbers, would perhaps, however, be nearer the truth. At present even one half of my hypothetical numbers is not to be found. At a rough estimate about three hundred are now in *situ*. The names even of these, however, are not to be met with in the local legends. The *Ekāmra Candrikā* and the *Svarṇādrimahodadhī*, which supply itineraries according to which the pilgrim should visit the different temples, notice the principal temples under eight groups, and then add a ninth head to include the outlying and distant temples which are not situated in groups, and the following names occur in them :

ITINERARY : After bathing in the Vindusāgara the pilgrims should visit the temples and other sacred objects in the following order :—*1st. Group* : 1. Ananta

Vāsudeva. 2. Gopālinī. 3. Caṇḍarudra. 4. Kārtikeya. 5. Gaṇeśa. 6. Vṛiṣabha. 7. Kalpavṛkṣa. 8. Sāvitrī. 9. Liṅgarāja. 10. Ekāmreśvara. 11. Ugreśvara. 12. Viśveśvara. 13. Citragupteśvara. 14. Śavareśvara. 15. Lāḍḍukeśvara. 16. Śakreśvara. 17. Īśāneśvara. 18. Bhārabhūtīśvara. 19. Śrīkaṇṭheśvara. 20. Lāṅgalīśvara. 21. Someśvara. 22. Sikhaṇḍīśvara. 23. Dardureśvara. 24. Ananteśvara. 25. Somasūtreśvara. Then after circumambulating a sacred emblic myrobalan :—*2nd Group* : 26 Kapila Kuṇḍa. 27. Mūrtyeśvara. 28 Varuṇeśvara. 29. Jogamātā Rhada. 30. Īśāneśvara. 31. Dvītiyeśāneśvara. 32. Yameśvara. **[98]** *3rd Group* : 33. Gaṅgā-Yamunā. 34. Lakṣmīśvara. 35. Sulokeśvara. 36 Rudreśvara. *4th Group* : 37. Koṭitīrtheśvara. 38. Svarṇajaleśvara. 39. Savareśvara. 40. Sureśvara. 41. Sidheśvara. 42. Muktīśvara. 43. Śakreśvara and others. 44. Kedāreśvara. 45. Kedāra Kuṇḍa. 46. Maruteśvara. 47. Hāṭakeśvar. 48. Daitveśvara. 49. Candreśvara. *5th Group* : 50. Brahmeśvara. 51. Brahma Kuṇḍa 52. Gokarṇeśvara. 53. Utpaleśvara. *6th Group :* 54. Bhāskareśvara. 55. Kapālamocakeśvara. *7th Group* : 56. Paraśurāmeśvara. 57. Alābukeśvara. 58. Uttareśvara. 59. Bhīm-eśvara. 60. Yajñabhakṣeśvara and others. 61. Vaśiṣṭha and Vāmadeva. *8th Group* : 62. Rāmarāmeśvara. 63. Sītā, Mārutīśvara and others. 64. Gosahasreśvara and others. 65. Paradāreśvara. 66. Īśāneśvara. 67. Bhadreśvara. 68. Kukkuṭeśvara 69. Kapālinī 70. Śiśıreśvara. *9th Group* : 71. Pūrveśvara. 72. Vaidyanātha. 73. Aṣṭasūkṣmeśvara and others. 74. Āmbratakeśvara. 75. Madhyameśvara. 76 Bhīmeśvara. 77. Bhairaveśvara. 78. Sundareśvara. 79. Kapileśvara. 80. Sukṣmeśvara. 81. Vahiraṅgeśvara.

Most of the larger temples have sacred pools attached to them, and thereof eight are reckoned to be the most holy and great purifiers. These are—I, Vindusāgara. 2, Pāpanāśinī. 3, Gaṅgā-Yamunā. 4, Koṭitīrtha. 5, Brahma Kuṇḍa. 6, Megha Kuṇḍa. 7, Alābu Kuṇḍa. 8, Rāma Kuṇḍa. In this reckoning the Kapila Hrada is not included; but in general estimation it is in no way inferior to the others. The reason for its omission is probably the situation it occupies, so far away from the town proper.

Gandhavati River—There is also another which is esteemed as highly. It is the River Gandhavatī, (*Gandhavatī Nadī*)—a tiny rivulet which has its source in a spring in the Udayagiri hill, and flows round the west, the north and the east sides of the town. In November, when I saw it, the water was about eight feet broad and a foot deep in the middle, but it was flowing in a pretty strong current. Its banks are so low that it is somewhat difficult to mark the boundary line. The *Ekāmra Purāṇa* takes it to be the same with the River Ganges which was transferred to this place when Śiva forsook Benares to settle in the Mango Forest (ante, p. [64]). The whole stream is reckoned sacred, but a spot in the neighbourhood of Kapileśvara, close by the temple of Sūkṣmeśvara, described to be the same with Prayāga where the rivers Ganges and Yamuna come into contact at Allahabad, is extolled highly for its sin-removing quality The *Śiva Puraṇa* makes the rivulet rise in the Vindhya Hill, but the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* is geographically more correct. The *Kapila Saṃhitā* identifies the Ganges with the Mahānadī, but this is not recognised by the *Ekāmra Purāṇa*. These identifications, however, are creatures of fancy, and consistency in such cases is not a matter of importance, and seldom borne in mind.

CHAPTER—III
PURI

Its situation, name, boundary, population, appearance, history, early period, Hindu legends about its origin. Puruṣottama Māhātmya. Sanctity of Puri. Story of Indradyumna. Buddhist Period--Hindu account. Buddhism in Orissa. History of the tooth-relic. Locale of Dantapura. Jagannātha's relation to Buddha. Post-Buddhist or Vaiṣṇava period. Yayāti's revival. Anaṅgabhīma's erection of the Great Temple. Caitanya's reformation. Mārkaṇḍeśvara Temple and Āṭhāranālā Bridge. Great Temple, its boundary-walls and gateway. The Sun Piller. The Outer Enclosure. The Inner Enclosure. The Great Temple and Porch. The Dancing Hall. The Hall of Offerings. Inscriptions. Jagannātha--his audience--his image--his daily service. Sanctity of the offerings. Festivals --Ghoranāgi, Puṣyābhiṣeka, Makara Saṅkrānti, Dola Yātrā, Rāmanavomī, Daman-bhañjana, Candana Yātrā, Rukminī-haraṇa, Snāna Yātrā, Ratha Yātrā, Sayana Ekādaśī, Jhulana Yātrā, Janmāṣṭamī, Pārśvaparivartana, Kāliyadamana, Vāmanajanam, Kuar punāi, Utthāpana Ekādaśī, Gundicāgaḍh. Minor sacred places of Pari-- Svargadvāra, Mārkaṇḍa Tank, Yameśvara, Alābukeśvara, Kapālamocana. Śvetagaṅgā, Indradyumna Tank, Narendra Tank, Cakratīrtha, Lokanātha.

[99] No Indian divinity has a more unenviable notoriety in English literature than Jagannātha. Alike in poetry and in prose, in works of imagination as in sober history, he forms a never-dying illustration of all that is cruel, all that is horrible, all that is most revolting to every sense of humanity. The Cretan Dionysiaca at which little children were immolated in honor of Dionysius, the Druidical wicker cage with its writhing mass of human victims destined to be burnt alive, the Mexican Tezcatlepoca with his annual pile of a hundred thousand captive heads, the Peruvian Pruloucon with its mounds of human flesh every year offered to pacify the wrath of an irate divinity, pale before this hideous Moloch whose terrible car 'through blood and bones ploughs its dreadful path'. Has the orator to excite in his audience a feeling of revolting abhorrence against any hated object?—he cannot do it better than by denouncing it as a car of Jagannātha ; the preacher subserves the cause of religion by indulging in the same metaphor ; and the statesman holds it as one of his most potent invectives, fit to be hurled at everything that he thinks the most detestable. It is certain, nevertheless, that human conception has never realized a more innocent and gentle divinity than Jagannātha ; and the tenets of his votaries are the very reverse of sanguinary or revolting. In fact, never was opprobrium more unjustly cast on an inoffensive object than in this instance, and none merited it less. How the mistake has arisen, is an enquiry which does not fall within the scope of this essay, but many circumstances will be adverted to lower down, which will, it is believed, be of use in repudiating the foul charge.

Puri—its situation. The thrice holy city[1] of the Lord of the world is situated on the seashore, about fifty miles to the south of the town of Cuttack. Latitude 19^{0} 47 m. 55 s. N.,

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[1] This is the site of the flagstaff on the sea-shore near the Magistrate's court. The position of the Great Temple of Jagannātha, according to the latest computation by the Surveyor General of India, is Lat. 19 deg. 48 min. 17 sec. N., Long. 85 deg. 51 min. 39 sec. E.

Longitude 85° 49 m. 5 s. E. It can lay no claim to salubrity, for it is located on a low surf-beaten beach, the perennial home of disease. Its fertility is represented by its arid sandy soil. It has no river of any size passing by it which could keep up water communication with the interior ; and even drinking water of good quality is in it far from being plentiful. It has no pretension to the position of a port, for the surf-washed shelving shore and open roadstead before it will not permit even sea-going country crafts to approach within half a mile of the land. And besides the blue sea there is nothing to give it a picturesque appearance. The sandy shore of which it forms a part, stretches from the Chilkā Lake in the south to the mouth of the Prācī river on the north, a distance of over 42 miles, with a breadth varying from a thousand to six thousand yards. The level throughout this length is low, but broken by a number of ridges some of which enclose lagoons of salt water. One of them about five by three miles near Puri, forms a large lake called Sara, and receives the drainage of the Bhārgavī River. Why so inhospitable and ungainly a site was ever selected for a large town it is difficult to conceive.

Its Name. The most ancient name of the place was Nīlācala or 'blue hill', given to it to ennoble one of the sand ridges in the centre of the town, barely 20 feet high, on which the temple of the divinity now stands. This name, however, is not now in common use. For centuries past, the city has been looked upon as the holiest on the face of the earth, and the most appropriate name for it has been, preeminently and *par excellence, Puri—'The City'*. In English records and also in some Persian documents, the last name is usually given to both the district and the town, and the latter for distinction often appears under the name of 'Jagarnaut,' the name of the presiding divinity being **[100]** confounded with that of his dwelling place. This confusion, however, is due to Hindu writers of medieval times who used it in that sense. Similarly they use the word Puruṣottama, 'the noblest male,' the name of the divinity, for that of his sacred town. In these two instances we have, however, the results of a spirit of economy or abbreviation, by which 'Jagannātha-Kṣetra' and 'Pusuṣottama-Kṣetra' have been deprived of their last member. By omitting the first member we arrive at the most popular name of the place, Khetra or Kṣetra 'the sacred place'.

Its boundary. The town is bounded on the south by the sea ; on the west by Parganna Chaubiskud ; and on the north and east, by Parganna Rāhang. The line of demarcation on the north side is best indicated by the Motiyā Nadī *alias* Madhupur River. The area enclosed by these boundaries is a little under five miles, with an average breadth of a mile and a half. About one half of the breadth is, however, represented by the sandy shore on which stands the civil station, and which in official records is known under the name of Parganna Oldhār, and popularly as Bālikhaṇḍ or 'the sand portion.' The other half forms the town proper, and it does not include much more than six furlongs in its breadth, except towards the western side, where the width of the shore has been largely inhabited and included in the town. According to Sanskrit writers the area of the town is five *krośa* from the temple of Lokanātha on the west to that of Vilveśvara on the east, and from the sea to the Motiyā Nadī ; but as two *krośas* out of the five, have been, it is said, engulphed by the sea, the remainder very closely represents the present extent.

Its population and appearance. For administrative purposes the area is divided into seven wards, called sāis,[2] each under the control of a police post. The fixed population of the town is, for the area occupied (1,871 acres) very small, numbering only 22,695 persons, mostly Hindus, and the greater part of the ground, as shown on the map (plate L), is covered by trees and gardens. On occasions of the principal festivals, the influx of pilgrims, however, in immense, and varies in number from sixty to a hundred thousand heads. The uninhabited portions then teem with a dense multitude, and very little space is left unoccupied. It is not remarkable that, under such circumstances, in ordinary times the town should appear poor and straggling. The houses are mostly thatched, or tiled, and even the principal thoroughfare, the Barādaṇḍ, which cuts the town longitudinally into two halves, has no private masonry building of any pretension to show. Nor has it any trade or manufacture to a large extent. A single market of a very moderate size (Ānanda Bāzār) at the western end of the main street suffices to supply the requirements of the people. Altogether the place has very little of the appearance of a thriving town. The huts, however, are generally neat, clean and tidy, and appear to be very well taken are care of.

Its history. The history of the place may be noticed under three heads : (1) the Early Hindu period ; (2) the Buddhist period ; and (3) the post-Buddhist or the Vaiṣṇavite period. Of the first of these periods we possess nothing but a mass of legends utterly untrustworthy, and totally devoid of historical value. The second, dating from the advent of Buddhism in Orissa in the 5th century B.C. to its downfall in the 5th century A.D., or a period of a little over 900 years, has not the benefit of any systematic record, and the few facts traceable in Buddhist writing are obscure and unsatisfactory. Of the third period, the early history has been purposely mystified, but from the 7th century we have contemporary records of considerable value—the Palm-leaf Temple Annals.

Early Hindu period. The legendary accounts are preserved in three separate treatises which profess to be parts of the leading 18 Purāṇas and in casual notices in other Purāṇas. The three treatises bear the common name of *Puruṣottama Māhātmya,* and belong respectively to the *Skanda Purāṇa,* the *Kūrma Purāṇa* and the *Nārada Purāṇa.* They are obviously founded on one original, and treat of the subject in very much the same way—in many places in the very same words ; nevertheless there are in them many material differences which suggest the idea of their having only borrowed the outlines of the stories, and filled them up and shaded them according to individual predilections. The details and descriptions given in these works clearly show that they are of a much later date than that of the revival of Yayāti Keśarī. Thus they narrate the history of occurrances which happend more than fifteen hundred years before them, and their authority, therefore, is of smallest moment. The occurrences, moreover, are obviously fictitious, designed solely to cast a halo of antiquity on a locality which had been, as I shall show lower down, taken from a hostile sect, and it is immaterial, therefore, to enquire about the value of the testimony brone by them in the case. The legends are of interest, however, as they portray the belief of the people, and I shall notice a few of them to point out the relation they bear to some of the antiquities of the place.

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[2] Their names are : i. Harcaṇḍī ; ii. Gaurbāor ; iii. Bāli ; iv. Māṭimuṇḍi ; v. Dolamuṇḍi, vi. Kundāibent ; and vii. Mārkaṇḍeśvara.

[101] Purushottama Mahatmya. Of the three treatises aforesaid, the most elaborate and best digested is the one which professes to be a part of that book of the *Skanda Purāṇa* which is devoted to Orissa,—Utkala Khaṇḍa. In the edition of it printed at the Ganapat Krishnaji Press, Bombay, ten years ago, the work extends to 46 chapters, but in a manuscript in my family library the number is 51. The work opens, in the usual Puranic style, with an enquiry from the sages assembled at the great srcrifice in the Naimiṣa forest, as to the reasons which induced Bhagavān, the great lord who was manifest in light, Nārāyaṇa himself, the noblest of beings, to assume the form of a log to abide in this place, and the saint Jaimini responds to the call by reciting what he had heard, at an assembly of the gods, from Skanda who had narrated the story on the authority of his father Śambhu.

Sanctity of Puri. The story opens with an account of the high merits of the place. It is said that on one occasion Brahmā felt very much distressed at his not having provided in his creation sufficient means for the redemption of created beings, and besought the aid of Nārāyaṇa for a summary method of salvation. The request, however, was not acceded to, as it would have disturbed the harmony of the creation : but it was pointed out that those who were really earnest about salvation could easily obtain it by dwelling in the secret abode of the divinity on the sea-shore. In praise thereof the Lord said, 'On the northern shore of the sea, to the south of the Mahānadī River, there is my favouriate abode. Alone it can confer all the blessings which are derivable from all the other sacred places on the earth put together. Those wise sons of Manu who dwell there, enjoy the fruits of all the good deeds performed by them in their previous births. Know this, Lotus-born, that none who is of little merit or wanting in faith can dwell there. Every step of the land from the Mango Forest to the shore of the southern sea is the most precious, as I shall show you. The Blue Hill, which flourishes on the sea-shore, is the most secret place on earth, most difficultly accessible even to you. Enveloped by my illusion, it remains unknown even to the gods and the demons. Forsaking all company I dwell there in a corporeal form. Rising above all mutability and eternity, I abide at Puruṣottama, the holy spot, which is alike unassailable by creation and destruction. Even as you see me herein corporeal shape with all my emblems, so will you, Brahmā, see me there. On that Blue Hill, to the west of the Kalpa fig tree, there is a fountain known under the name of Rohiṇa ; dwelling near it men may behold me with their carnal eyes, and, washing off their sins with its water, attain equality with me'. The equality here referred to is not confined to merits or moral excellence, but extends to corporeal similitude, and an illustration is afforded in proof of it. It is said that Brahmā, on hearing the advice, immediately repaired to the sacred spot, and, while standing there, beheld a crow, impelled by thirst, coming to the fountain, and taking a sip of its crystal treasure, and then plunging into it. Instantly its form changed from that of a crow to the counterpart of Viṣṇu himself, with four arms carrying the four-fold emblems of the conch-shell, the discus, the mace, and the lotus ; and in this form the metamorphosed being repaired to the heaven of Viṣṇu. Brahmā, beholding this, was at once convinced of the transcendental merits of the place, and resolved to extend its glory. Other stories follow. One of them shows that Yama, the regent of the dead, has no control over the dead of this place, and that death here invariably ensures absolute salvation. A second is intended to show that this spot is not subject to the laws which govern the rest of the universe, and free from all liability to decay and dissolution : it lasts in its pristine glory when all other places and regions and worlds are swept away by the revolution of time.

Story of Indradyumna. In the earliest stage of its existence, Puri, says the Puruṣottama Māhātmya[3], was a forest having the Blue Hill in the centre, with an all-bestowing Kalpa tree on its brow, the sacred fountain of Rohiṇa to the west of it, and on its side an inimitable image of Viṣṇu in sapphire. The stone gave its name to the image, whence it was called Nīlamaṇi or Nīlamādhava. A pilgrim of great sanctity had seen it in this state in the golden age, and reported its existence to Indradyumna[4], a prince of the Solar dynasty, who resigned at Avanti in the **[102]** country of Mālava, (modern Oujein in Mālwā). The prince was greatly interested, and expressed an earnest desire to proceed to the spot, and attain the highest blessing of human existence by beholding the image. It was decided, however, that before the prince started on so distant and difficult an expendition, an officer should be deputed to ascertain the fact. One Vidyāpati, the brother of the high-priest, was selected as the fittest person to go. He accomplished the journey in three months ; and beheld, at the foot of the great Kalpa tree, a number of Brāhmaṇas, each having four hands, and bearing the emblems of Viṣṇu. The chief of this congregation was a Savara, a barbarian (fowler), named Viśvavasu. He alone knew the sacred bower of the divinity, and daily worshipped the image with such simple offerings as he could command. Vidyāpati asked his permission to visit the image ; but the fowler was at first unwilling to grant it, for he knew of a tradition which said that Indradyumna would come to the place, and thereupon the image would disappear ; but, on considering that he would, by a refussl, offend a great king, and fail in his duty to his guest, he accepted the inevitability, and took the pilgrim to the secret of the divinity, and loaded him with rich presents including a flower-garland from the neck of the image. On enquiry as how Viśvavasu had obtained in the wilderness the rich articles which even in the capital of Mālwā would be held rare and precious, the fowler informed his guest that every night the gods of heaven descended on earth to behold the glory of the Blue Image, and, after worshipping it, made the richest offerings of which he, the narrator, as the chief guardian of the place, obtained the benefit.

Vidyāpati laved his person in the sin-destroying waters of the Rohiṇa Kuṇḍa, somehow without changing his bimanal form, devoutly worshipped the image, and with a heart full of profound faith, returned to his royal master, and reported what he had seen. He, likewise, presented to the king the sanctified garland which he had got from the neck of the image. The king was overwhelmed with emotion ; he shed tears of joy, and, while receiving the sanctified garland, resolved to repair to the sacred grove, establish his metropolis there, and devote the rest of his days to the adoration of the holy image.

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[3] The Māhātmya gives the story in 15 chapters (vi to xxi), and only the salient points of it have been summarised here. Abstracts of it, more or less corrupt, occur in the 'Ain-i-Akbari', Sterling's 'Cuttack', Hunter's 'Orissa', and other books.

[4] Whatever may be said of the story, the name of this prince is of great antiquity, as it occurs as that of an ancient king in the Maitri Upaniṣad of the Black Yajurveda. Cowell's translation, p. 243.

At this juncture, the renowned sage Nārada, the mind-born son of Brahmā, paid the king a visit, and in course of conversation, strengthened his resolve by an elaborate discourse in praise of the Blue God, and of the merit of worshipping him with the true fervour of a Vaiṣṇava. 'All the sacred pools', he said, 'including the confluence at Prayāga, the river Ganges, a thousand repetitions of the great horse-sacrifice, penances, fasts and abstinences, observed thousands of times, and these put together and multiplied over and over millions of times, would not represent a thousandth part of the merit of faith in Viṣṇu.'

The discourse had its effect. The king's desire to visit the Blue God was excited to the highest pitch, and immediate preparations were made for the journey. A mighty army was fully equipped. Everything likely to be required in the way was provided : a large retinue of traders and artisans was collected ; a proclamation was issued inviting all who wished to proceed on the pilgrimage, to join the expedition ; and, on Thursday, the fifth of the waxing moon in the month of Jyaiṣṭha, when the moon was in the Puṣyā constellation, the king started on his journey, taking the sage Nārada and his minister in his company. When he reached the border of the Mahānadī in Utkala, the king of that country waited on him, and after showing him every mark of respect, urged strongly that he should retire as the country was wild, subject to inundations, famine and pestilence, and likely to cause him much annoyance and trouble. Nothing, however, could overcome the determination of the king, and, under the advice of Nārada, Indradyumna proceeded on his pious mission.

Crossing the Mahānadī, Indradyumna arrived the next day at the Mango Forest, and there he and the king of Utkala paid their devotions to the presiding divinity of the place—the noblest of Liṅgams. In describing this place, the author takes the opportunity to give an account of its origin, very different from what is stated in the *Śiva* and the *Ekāmra Purāṇas, (ante*, p. [63]). It was not Śiva who sought the place as a pleasant retreat, but Viṣṇu who expelled him from Benares, and assigned him the Mango Forest as a place of his exile. Mahādeva made himself manifest to the pious king, and advised him as to what he should do at Puruṣottama.

On the forenoon of the third day after visiting Bhuvaneśvara. the king arrived at Puri, and pitched his camp on its south-eastern side, near the temple of Vilveśvara. The place was well wooded, and afforded ample accommodation to the royal **[103]** retinue. Leaving his people there to refresh themselves after their long and tedious march, the king took Nārada and Vidyāpati in his chariot, and proceeded at once to the Blue Hill to gratify his long-cherished desire of beholdind with his carnal eyes the Divinity face to face. But he was doomed to disappointment. In the way many inauspicious signs attracted his notice. His left eye began to twitch and quiver, and his left hand to throb and tremble. He knew well what these twitchings and throbbings prognosticated, and so felt greatly distressed . Nārada thereupon told him that on the evening of the day following that on which Vidyāpati had beheld the divine image, it had sunk under the golden sand of the sea, and departed to the region of Pātāla. so there was no image now to see ; but there was no occasion for despondency. Obstacles and impediments were frequent attendants on happiness, but to the fortunate and the manly, happiness always succeeds impediments. The news fell like a thunder-bolt on the king, and he immediately fainted away. When revived by great exertion on the part of his people, he gave vent to his feelings in the most piteous language, and ended by proclaiming that he would put a period to his existence on the sea-shore by absolute fast, and that Nārada and his retinue should go back to Mālava, and there install the Crown Prince on the throne with instructions to rule justly, paternally, and with the sole object of benefitting the people. Nārada, however, consoled him by assuring him that, though it was not given to man with his carnal eyes to behold the Divinity, it was possible for the king to establish images which would ensure to mankind the same blessing ; that it had been predestined that the Rājā would be instrumental in establishing such images ; and that it was for him to perform there and then a thousand horse-sacrifices which would prepare the way for the fulfilment of his destiny.

The king was consoled, and repaired to the Blue Hill. On a romantic spot on the eastern side he erected a magnificient stone temple, facing the west, and consecrated in it an image of Nṛsiṃha. The day of consecration is said to have been the twelfth of the waxing moon in the month of Jyaiṣṭha, when the moon was in the constellation Svāti ; but, as usual, no year in mentioned. Having done this, the Rājā set about his grand kilocaust. The necessary number of horses was provided ; people of eviy quality from all parts of the world were duly invited ; grand preparations were made for their reception and entertainment ; amidst the most magnificent pageantry and universal rejoicings the sacrifices were commenced ; and in course of it the Rājā dreamt a dream. It was on the seventh day of the sacrifice, during the fourth quarter of the night, that the king in his dream saw a noble tree, resplendent as crystal, coming from the Śveta Dvīpa, and within the tree the Divinity appeard in his blue from, with four hands, bearing the fourfold emblems of conch-shell, discus, mace and lotus. He had on his right side Ananta, refulgent as a thousand moons put together, having four hands with his appropriate emblems, and canopied by the hood of a seven-headed cobra. And between the two, there appeared Lakṣmī in her most benign aspect, while to the left of Viṣṇu there was the celestial wheel, Sudarśana-cakra. Beholding this miraculous appearance, the king, in his sleep, fervently recited a hymn, and prayed for emancipation. The dream was interpreted as the most auspicious, and the king applied with redoubled energy to the completion of the sacrifice. Days passed on, and in due course the last offerings were poured on the sacred fire, when news was brought that a log of magnificent proportions and impressed with the insignias of Viṣṇu had come floating on the sea, and reached the shore near the temple of Vilveśvara. This was of course taken as the first realization of the dream, and Nārada explained the tree to be no other than a hair from the body of the Divinity dwelling in the Śveta Dvīpa. The log was, thereupon, brought to shore amidst great rejoicings, and in due course it was carved into the four images of Jagannātha, Balarāma, Subhadā, and Sudarśana-cakra. Indradyumna then repaired to the region of Brahmā, and brought down Brahmā and other gods to complete the consecration of the images. This was accordingly done, and the images have ever since remained as the most sovereign means of salvation.

The versions of this story given in the *Puruṣottama Māhātmya*, of the *Kūrma* and the *Nārada Purāṇas*, differ in some details from what has been summarised above, and the vernacular version quoted by Dr. W. W. Hunter in his valuable work on Orissa[5] from an Uriya tract, is in many respects different from the Sanskrit originals. The story of the Brahmin messenger Vidyāpati marrying the daughter of Bāsu, the forester, and his bag of mustard seed to mark the way, are elements of popular fairy tales, which do not obtain in any of the Sanskrit versions. It is not necessary, however, to notice these differences, originating in most instances from a love of romantic embellishments, as they do not in any way subserve the purposes of history. I believe the original story to be pure fiction, got up, long after date, with a view to give circumstantial weight to its claim for remote antiquity, without which the place could not be readily recommended as the most sacred object on earth, and worthy of being visited at great sacrifices. Fictitious embellishments added to a fiction do not in any way change its character ; it is futile, therefore, to attempt to winnow the mass with the hope of shifting the possible grain of fact that may be hidden in it. In quoting the story at all, my object has been to give the substance of what the faithful believe to be the ancient history of the place, and not to draw any historical deductions therefrom. All that can be said about it with certainty is **[104]** that the place was in the possession then of the non-Aryan Oḍras, beyond the pale of, and totally uninfluenced by, the Brahmanical conquerors of Northern India.

Buddhist period. Hindu account. The second period of the history of Puri extends from the death of Buddha to the revival of Hinduism at Puri in the reign of Yayāti Keśarī, or well nigh a thousand years. For this period the account preserved in Hindu records is nearly as unsatisfactory as that for the first period. The Sanskrit authorities do not refer to this period at all ; as it was too recent for their claims to remote antiquity. The Temple Records in Uriya are our guide for it, and they are for this period not at all trustworthy. They were not taken in hand until more than a thousand years after the events they chronicle, and there is nothing to show that their authors had anything more than the loosest tradition for their guide.

The substance of what they say on the subject is easily told. Between 538 to 421 B.C., there reigned in Orissa a king named Vajranābha Deva, and in his time the country was twice invaded, first by Mughals and Pathans coming from Marwar, and next by certain Yavanas headed by Seyaet Khan from Delhi ; but he repelled the incursionists with great ease. His son and successor Narasiṃha Deva had a reign of 115 years (421 to 306) during which he had to repel, after many battles, an invasion of Yavanas from Kashmir. He himself attacked the kingdom of Delhi, and appropriated to himself a part of it. In his time a tank was excavated in the town of Dāntan, ten miles to the south of Bhuvaneśvara ; the tank was named Sarasankā ; it still exists as the resort of many pilgrims. His son Manakṛiṣṇa is said to have been even more long-lived than his predecessor, for he is described to have reigned a hundred and thirty-two years (306-184). He too repelled an invasion fron Kashmir ; the invaders being called Moṇghals. A Bhoja Rājā followed with a reign of 127 years ; and then Vikramāditya and Śakāditya together took up 137 years. All three repelled invasions by Yavans, so did a king of the name of Nirmala Deva who reigned 45 years. His son Sobhana Deva, however, was not so fortunate ; he succumbed in A. D.

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[5] Vol. I, pp. 80f

323 to a set of Yavanas who came by the way of the sea, and under the leadership of one Raktabāhu or Red-Arm. Unable to cope with his enemies he fled from Puri, taking the four sacred images with him, and for the sake of security, buried them under the earth, planting a banian tree over them. From this time to the close of the third quarter of the 5th Century, the country remained under the Yavanas, and the sacred images lay under the earth. Yayāti Keśarī came to Orissa in 474, and first established himself at Yāyapur, and thence, gradually pushing on, wrested the whole country from the foreigners.

Looking to the preternaturally long reigns, and the impudent way in which the names of well-known Northern Indian and Central Indian kings have been put under requisition to fiill up lacunæ in their pages, it is evident that the authors of the chronicles were by no means scrupulous about the authenticity of their materials. As already shown in the two preceding chapters, during the four centuries preceding the Christian era, Orissa generally and the district of Puri in particular were under the domination of the Buddhists; but they abstain altogether from any reference to them.

It is impossible to suppose that they knew nothing of the ascendancy of Buddhism, and the omission, therefore, can be attributed solely to religious hatred. They would do anything to avoid naming the Jains and the Buddhists, as the old adage has it 'they would rather be eaten up by tigers than seek shelter in a Jaina temple'. And it is this feeling that prompted them to invent a Monghal and Pathan dominion in Marwar, in the 5th century before Christ, a Yavana kingdom, with a captain of the name of Seyaet Khan at Delhi in the 3rd century, a Monghal supremacy in Kashmir at about that time, and the invasion of Red-Arm at a latter period, when the powers of invention or of impudent fiction apparently broke down, and a long period of foreign supremacy had to be admitted. If we substitute the word Buddhist for the Yavanas, Monghals, Pathans, &c., the whole history at once becomes clear and consistent. The part of the *Records*, in which this account of ancient history is given is obviously an after-thought, got up after northern India had passed to the Muhammadans. Dr. Hunter[6] is disposed to believe that by the word Yavanas the Greeks were meant, and he shows at great length that certain Greek adventurers did well in Central India in the early part of the Christian era. I am, however, not satisfied with the arguments about the Greek occupation of Central India at the time mentioned[7]; and even if that could be established it would not suffice for Red-Arm's invasion of Orissa from the sea. Anyhow, had the word Yavana alone been used, it would have been possible to argue that it referred to the Greek, the Bactrian, the Scythian, or some other North-Western nation, but that not being the case, and having to deal with such modern terms as Pathans, Seyaet Khan, and the like, the whole may be, without offence to history, relegated to the domain of fiction. I must admit that I cut the Gordian knot instead of untying it, but in dealing with such a huge mass of falsehood, it is vain to search for the possible grain of truth that may be hidden in it.

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[6] Hunter's 'Orissa', Vol. i., Chap. v.

[7] My paper 'On the supposed identity of the Greeks with the Yavanas of the Sanskrit Writers', Journal As. Soc. xliii. pt. i., pp. 246 f.

[105] Buddhism in Orissa. It has been already shown in the preceding chapter that the northern part of Puri, including Bhuvaneśvara, Dhauli and Khaṇḍagiri, was thoroughly Buddhist during the 4th, the 3rd and the 2nd centuries before the Christian era. The edicts of Aśoka at Dhauli cannot be accounted for on any other supposition, and many brief references in Buddhist annals support this view to a great extent. It is said that on the death of Buddha, one part of his relics, the left lower eye-tooth, was assigned to the then king of Kaliṅga, who preserved it with great care, and exhibited it to the faithful on all grand ceremonial occasions. The locale of its preservation might at first thought be presumed to have been the metropolis, the Kaliṅga-nagarī of the Udayagiri inscriptions. The Sinhalese Buddhist annals, however, call the place Dantapura ; but where that town was situated has not yet been satisfactorily determined. Mr. Fergusson thinks 'there can be little doubt but that the temple' (of Jagannātha at Puri) ' now occupies the site where formerly stood the *dagoba* containing the celebrated tooth-relic,[8] and, in support of this conjecture, adds, 'certain it is that there is no other spot in the neighbourhood where any trace of it can be found ; and a *dagoba* is such a solid mass of materials, that, except in the neighbourhood of a large city, it would be difficult to obliterate all traces of it ; and the mass of materials, or earth, that it would take to fill up the terrace on which the temple stands, looks very like such an accumulation, and very unlike any work of the twelfth century where nothing of the kind was ever attempted that I know of. Almost all writers mention the tradition of a relic being contained in the image itself ; some call it a bone, some say that is only a piece of the old image, which is periodically renewed ; but, whatever it is, the idea of any relic is so totally foreign to the whole system of Hinduism, and so essentially a part of Buddhism, that I cannot but think it strongly confirmatory of this view of the case. If it is a bone, it probably pretends to be the tooth-relic that plays so important a part in Indian history'[9]. The arguments are founded mainly on the mound on which the temple stands, and, if it could be shown that the Dantapura of the legend must be Puri, they would doubtless be of some weight, though the fact of a sand-ridge being present on a sandy shore abounding in sand-ridges would by no means be convincing. This objection apart, before this assumption can be accepted, it is necessary to see what the Buddhist annals say about Dantapura.

History of the tooth-relic. The oldest known authority on the tooth-relic is the *Mahāvaṃsa* ; but the published portion of it does not contain anything of importance about it. The leading Sinhalese authority on the subjeet is the *Daladāvaṃsa,* which 'was composed in the *Kawi* form in *Elu,* which is the ancient classical version of Sinhalese'. Adverting to it, Mr. Turnour says, 'while there is no circumstance discernible, as far at least as my investigation has extended, of external or internal evidence, which creates the slightest doubt as to the *Elu* work called *Daladāvaṃsa,* having been compiled in the manner above-mentioned about the year A.D. 310, there is positive proof of its being extant, at least between A.D. 459 and 477'[10]. The work, however, is scarce, and not so often referred to as its Pali version, the *Dāṭhavaṃsa,* an abstract of which was sometime ago published by Mr.

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[8] Apud M. Coomara Swami's Dāṭhāvaṃsa, p. 99. [9] Loc. cit. [10] Journal As. Soc. B., vi, p. 858.

Turnour,[11] and the whole of which has since been published along with a close English translation by Sir Mutu Comara Swamy, of Ceylon. It is a work of the 12th century (A.D. 1197), written by one Dhammakitti Thera during the reign of Queen Līlāvatī. Its leading facts occur in the Siamese *Phrā 'Pat'hom* of which Col. James Low has given an abstract,[12] and they may therefore be accepted as embodying the substance of the oldest tradition on the subject. Now, according to this *Dāṭhāvaṃsa,* Khema, one of the disciples of Buddha, took the tooth-relic from the funeral pile of Buddha, and gave it to Brahmadatta, king of Kaliṅga, in Dantapura. The king caused to be made for it 'a temple inlaid with gold, adorned with hanging pearl-necklaces, abounding in hundreds of rooms at the top, difficult, like the early sun, to look at, owing to the radiance of various gems dazzling the eye—a vehicle to heaven and to Nibbāna, which produces excessive delight ; he also made for the relic, in the same place, a seat resplendent with gems. Placing there the tooth-relic of the great sage he honoured it unweariedly, night and day, with all the requisites of worship'[13]. This description does not at all indicate a *dagoba,* and the first element in Mr. Fergusson's arguments, the memorial mound, cannot be supported by it. The successors of Brahmadatta, for several generations, continued to worship the relic until the time of Guhaśiva, (A.D. 370 to 390) who was young and heedless, and well disposed towards the Niganthas or Brāhmaṇs, on whom he conferred favours. This influence of the Brāhmaṇs, however, was short-lived ; a general rejoicing in the town on account of some festival in honour of the tooth-relic attracted the king's attention, and a miracle converted him to the true path. He became a staunch worshipper of the relic like the bulk of his people, and expelled the Brāhmaṇs from the country. The Brāhmaṇs, thereupon, repaired to the court of Pāṇḍu, Lord of Jambudvīpa, at Pāṭaliputra, and, praising him for his devotion to the true gods Śiva, Brahmā and others, accused Guhaśiva of 'reviling such gods, and worshipping **[106]** the bone of a dead body'. Pāṇḍu was greatly scandalised at the news of a petty king so offending the religion of his country, and deputed a valiant and tributary king, named Cittayāna, to bring to Pāṭaliputra Guhaśiva and the bone he worshipped. The lieutenant went to Dantapura, and 'saw the relic-temple, resplendent with door-posts and the like, made of the sandal wood of Mount Hari, with rows (of images) in coral, of tigers with pendant pearl-strings, with emerald windows, with tinkling bells of gems, with golden (suspended) garlands at its angles ; having a spire of gems, (and) a roof lofty and shining with lapis-lazuli ; abounding in paintings of sea-monsters—(and) a seat radiant with gems for the relic'[14]. Here again the description is that of a temple, and not of a *dagoba.* Cittayāna beheld the relic with great astonishment and joy, and a miracle immediately after following, became a Buddhist. He nevertheless insisted in obedience to the commands of his master, upon taking the relic and the king to Pāṭaliputra, and Guhaśiva was too weak to oppose him. At Pāṭaliputra the tooth wrought a number of miracles, which the Niganthas attempted to explain by saying, 'O King ! there were in the world various incarnations of Janārdana, such as Rāma and the like ; this bone is a part of him. If not, whence such influence as this ?'[15] But other miracles followed, and the king, convinced of its divine attributes, became its worshipper.

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[11] Ibid vi. pp. 856 f. [12] Ibid. xviii, Part ii. pp. 72 f. [13] Dāṭhāvaṃsa, p. 38.
[14] Ibid. p. 43. [15] Ibid. p. 48.

On the death of Pāṇḍu, Guhaśiva brought back the relic to his own capital, and re-established it in its old temple. He was, however, not destined to live in peace. A neighbouring king, Khiradhāra by name, attacked him, but was repulsed and killed in battle. The nephews of Khiradhāra, thereupon , formed a confederacy, collected a large army, and invaded Dantapura. Guhaśiva had serious misgivings of success on this occasion, and, before proceeding to the battle-field, instructed his son-in-law Dantakumāra, a prince of Ujjayinī, who had married his daughter Hemamālā, to carry away the relic to the king of Ceylon in the event of his death. His apprehensions were realised. He fell in battle, and his son-in-law Dantakumāra and his daughter Hemamālā in disguise carried away the relic. They first kept it buried in sand, and, after encountering many adventures, placing it within the coiffure of the lady, went away. 'Having travelled by path renderd difficult by hills and forests, and always followed eagerly by the gods of the woods, who had their hands filled with flowers and scented powder, they slowly arrived at the city Tāmalitti. They suddenly saw a ship, made of planks fastened together, having a large (and) well-placed mast, a broad rising sail, and a skilful pilot, having merchants on board, going to the Laṅkā wished for by them. Then the eminent Brāhmaṇs, going quickly near it, told the captain of their desire to go to Sīhala. He, pleased in mind by their speech, which was agreeable to the ear, as also by their good demeanour, made them ascend the ship'[16].

Locale of Dantapura. The continuation of the story does not concern us here. The salient points of the story are : 1st, that Buddhim was the popular religion of Kaliṅga from the arrival of the tooth-relic to the beginning of the 4th century A. D. ; 2nd, that the tooth-relic was first brought to Dantapura ; 3rd, that it was, after many years, thence carried to Pāṭaliputra or Patna ; 4th, that is was subsequently brought back to Dantapura ; and 5th, that it was thence carried to Tāmalitti, modern Tamluk[17], in order to be sent to Ceylon. The Siamese version gives the same story, making only slight variations in details, which are of no importance. The name of the lady in it is Hemacalā and not Hemamālā, but this may be due to a misprint in Col. Low's article. It is obvious and avowed that the Siamese version is a loose periphrastic translation of the original Sinhalese *Elu* text, and its differences therefore need not be noticed at length. It agrees with all other authorities in taking the place to which the tooth-relic was first brought to be Dantapura ; and the question is, what was the locale of that town ? If we accept Mr. Fergusson's theory that it was Puri, it becomes inexplicable why, in proceeding from Puri to Ceylon, Dantakumāra and his wife Hemamālā should march towards the north, a distance of two hundred and fifty miles to the first port of embarkation at Tāmralipti ? Puri was then a port—a bad one no doubt—but for all that a recognised port frequented by ships, and to the south of Puri there were several good ports which foreign ships frequented, and from which the fugitives could easily start on their voyage. There were no difficulties in the way ; the intercourse of the people of

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[16] Ibid. p. 66.

[17] Mr. Fergusson, in a paper published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain (N.S. Vol. vi. p. 243), takes Tāmalitti to have been located near or at Hugli, but it is not necessary to discuss that question here, as it does not affect my argument.

Orissa with those of the Teliṅgāna coast was, in those days, free and intimate, much more so than with those of the north ; and travellers could easily go from the one place to the other. When Fa Hian, in the beginning of the fifth century proposed to start for Ceylon from Tāmralipti, people dissuaded him, saying, that the southern ports were much more convenient. 'In going to the kingdom of the lion (Sinhala) it is not necessary', said they, 'to undergo a long sea voyage during which the winds are contrary, the currents impetuous, and the demons expose one to a thousand dangers. It would be better for him to start from a south-east point of Southern India, by that way he may arrive by water in three days' (*ante*, I, p. [7]). It seems improbable, therefore, that Puri is the ancient site of Dantapura ; and I am compelled to look for a different site for it ; and this I find **[107]** in the little town of Dāntan, 12 miles to the north of Jaleśvara. The place was originally dedicated to something connected with a tooth, whence its name Dantapura, 'the town' (*pura*) 'of the tooth,' (*danta*), and Dāntan, 'relating to tooth,' is an obvious corruption of it, retaining still the old meaning. Uriyas of the present day give it a different interpretation. They say that Jagannātha, when travelling to the south, had thrown his tooth-brush here, and they have a temple too where a silver tooth-brush is shown to pilgrims as the identical one which the divinity had dropped ; but the story has not the sanction of even the *Puruṣottama Māhātmya*, and may therefore be rejected as purely mythical. The town is the nearest in Orissa to Magadha, to which the tooth could be removed by order of Pāṇḍu, and is barely fifty miles from Tāmralipti[18]. A person, wishing to go to Ceylon from it, could, in those days when Balasore had not become a port, find the nearest port as described in the legend, and this identification therefore appears to me to be much more reliable than the one suggested by Mr. Fergusson.

Jagannatha's relation to Buddha. His identification apart, there is no reason to doubt, however, that Mr. Fergusson is perfectly correct in his opinion, that Puri was an ancient seat of Buddhism, and that the worship of Jagannātha is a relic of some Buddhist cultus. His arguments on this point are unassailable, and others are to be had in great abundance. The *Dāṭhāvaṃsa* relates that, even, in the fourth century, the Brāhmaṇs wished to make out that the tooth-relic was a part of Janārdana's body (*ante*, p. [106]). Dr- Bühler, adverting to the *Nilamata Purāṇa*, says 'the mention of Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, and of his festivals, shows that in its present form the *Nilamata* cannot be older than the 6th or 7th century of our era', adding 'the oldest work with a fixed date in which I have found Buddha represented as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, is Kṣemendra's *Daśāvatāra-carita* which belongs to the 11th century. But the legend must go back to the 6th or 7th century as Buddhism became so insignificant during the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries, that nobody would have taken the trouble to identify its founder with a Brahmanical deity'[19]. Jayadeva, in the 12tn century, in his hymn to the ten incaranations, makes the same admission. Addressing the 9th incarnation, he says, 'Aha ! thou hast reviled all the Vedas which enjoin the sacrifice of animals at Yajñas, thou kind-hearted ; O Keśava, thou hast assumed the form of Buddha ; O Hari, lord of the universe, glory be to thee !' I have, in my *Buddha Gayā*, quoted several passages from the *Gayā Māhātmya*, to show that Buddha was acknowledged, from the beginning of the 4th century, by the Hindus to be an incarnation of Viṣṇu, and worthy of adoration[20]. The story of Gayāsura is incidentally reproduced in the *Puruṣottama Māhātmya* and it is said that when the huge monster prostrated himself before the gods, his navel fell on Puri. Now, as I have shown in my *Buddha Gayā* that the story of the monster is an allegorical representation of the extent of Buddhism in India, it would follow that at the time when Gayā was the head-quarters of Buddhism, Puri was its navel, or an equally vital part. The chest of the monster was at the time, according to the same authority, at Yājapur. Viṣṇu, to mark his success over the demon, left his foot-mark at Gayā, his lotus at Koṇārak, his club at Yājapur, his discus at Bhuvaneśvara, and his conch-shell at Puri. This too implies a Buddhist supremacy in Orissa before the spread of Vaiṣṇavism. The Smṛti compilations of later date, such as the *Puruṣottama Tattva* of Raghunandana, which refer to the pilgrimage to Puri, make the same admission. Tradition everywhere accepts Jagannātha to be the same with the Buddha *avatāra*, and the image of that divinity has been accepted to be nothing more than a mystification of a Buddhist monogram. The idea was first started by Mr. Stevenson in a paper in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain*,[21] reiterated by Mr. Laidlay in his English version of the *Travels of Fa Hian*,[22] and subsequently fully demonstrated by General Cunningham[23]. Looking, moreover, to the history of Buddhism in other parts of India, and the way in which the Buddhist doctrine of the identity of the human soul with the divinity was appropriated by some of the Vedāntists ; the Buddhist belief of the sanctity of the Bo tree made a part of the Hindu religion ; the Buddhist repugnance to animal sacrifices taken up by the Vaiṣṇavas ; and Buddhist emblems, Buddhist temples, Buddhist sacred places, and Buddhist practices appropriated to Hindu usages ; it is impossible to resist the conclusion that Puri was, like Gayā, a place of Buddhist sanctity, and gradually converted to Hinduism.

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[18] Thornton's Gazetteer, sub voce ; Hunter's 'Statistical Account of Bengal', iii, pp. 196.

[19] Journal Bombay As. Soc., Vol. xii, extra No. p. 41.

The plan of action was the same everywhere ; that of gradual appropriation and assimilation. It was not the Moslem sword that was brought into play, not the *Qoran* in one hand and the scymetar in the other, but the policy of reconciliation and compromise. The bulk of the people had certain belief, practices and prejudices, to which they were ardently attached ; the revivalists were few in number, aud could not undo them by force ; and they had, therefore, to resort to fraud. They tried to convince the people that there was no real difference between them ; that he, whom they called Buddha, was no other than Viṣṇu ; that kindness for animated beings was an important and integral part of Vaiṣṇavism ; that the Vedic **[108]** rituals and sacrifices were designed for the ignorant to prepare them for a life of mercy ; that Bo tree was a representative of Viṣṇu ; that universal brotherhood, as opposed to the system of caste, was the outcome of the higher development of Vaiṣṇavism ; that the emblems of Buddhism were no other than those of the followers of Janārdana ; and that the only difference between the Vaiṣṇavas and the Buddhists consisted in denying the identity. This was exactly the way in which Kabir set to work, when he declared that there was no difference between Rāma and Rahim, and Caitanya did the same ; and both thereby obtained Muhammadan proselytes to their creeds. A theological or verbal acknowledgment of this kind, when involving no necessity for a change in the form of worship, or ordinary course of conduct, was not difficult to make, and, when demanded by successful generals flushed with conquest, could not be denied. Subject races are usually the most zealous advocates of the principle of religious toleration ; what to the conqueror is but a manifestation of liberality or generosity, is, to the conquered, the chief, if not the only, means of protection ; and when the latter is called upon to put the principle into practice with reference to the conqueror, he cannot refuse it ; and when the admission is once made, it does not take long on the part of powerful king and governors, aided by shrewd logicians and venal priests, to effect such a change in practice as entirely to supplant the original form of worship.

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[20] Buddha Gayā, pp. 18 f. [21] Vol. vii. p. 67. [22] p. 21. [23] Bhilsā Topes, pp. 351 f.

Post-Buddhist or Vaishnava period. Yayati's revival. The doctrine of the identity of Buddha and Viṣṇu was probably first preached by casuists and polemical disquisitionists in the middle of the 3rd century. At the beginning of the 4th century, we find it openly avowed in the *Dāṭhavaṃsa*, and, though the attack of the confederacy against Guhaśiva is not acknowledged to have been prompted by religious differences, the anxiety the prince displayed in sending the sacred relic away from the reach of his assailants, would imply that the danger to his religion was as greatly apprehended as to his kingdom. At the close of the 5th century, the doctrine must have acquired such firmness as to render it easy for Yayāti Keśarī, the conqueror from the north, to give it currency, and to appropriate the Buddhist shrine of Puri to the service of Viṣṇu. It has been already shown (p.[58]) that Yayāti came from Magadha during the supremacy of the later Guptas. Those Guptas appear to have been mostly devout Vaiṣṇavas, for they describe themselves in the Behar Lāṭ inscriptions as *paramabhāgvatas*[24] ; and their general, it would be no great presumption to suppose, was a follower of the same creed. If so, it would follow that Yayāti was a Vaiṣṇava ; and, as a revivalist, it would be natural to suppose that he was the first to convert the Puri shrine to his own purposes. The *Temple Records* admit this, only representing the appropriation to be a revivalism of the ancient ritual. It is said that Yayāti, about the close of his career, made preparations for the erection of the Great Tower at Bhuvaneśvara when he finally settled in that city. This would, however, be by no means inconsistent. Vaiṣṇavas have not been usually so opposed to Śaivaism as to Śāktaism, and the dedication of temples both to Viṣṇu and Śiva by the same person has been by no means uncommon in India. Though Yayāti is said to have revived the worship of Jagannātha, his successors were all very ardent Śaivas, who devoted their resources to promote the glory of Śiva in the metropolis of their dominion, but doing little for the divinity at Puri. One of them, Alābu Keśarī *alias* Lalāṭendu Keśarī, the builder of the Great Tower of Bhuvaneśvara, erected at Puri a temple in honour of Śiva, and named it after himself ; another, Kuṇḍala Keśarī (811-829), dedicated a temple there to that divinity under the name of Mārkaṇḍeśvara ; another, Matsya Keśarī, (A. D. 1034-1050) built the great bridge of Āṭhāranālā over the river in front of Puri ; and these erections show that the town was always regarded as an important one, and that it was never entirely forsaken.

What was the nature of the principal Bhuddist shrine at Puri is nowhere mentioned.

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[24] Journal A.S.B., xxv, p. 278.

Mr. Fergusson, as above stated, takes it to have been a *caitya*. The principal relics to be seen in Puri are, however, the three mystic monograms, now represented by the three images of Jagannātha, Balarāma, and Subhadrā, and the wheel of law, now called Sudarśanacakra[25]. These were the great objects of veneration, and for their location a Vihāra Hall would be the most appropriate. Such a hall was, I believe, the principal place of worship in the early days of Buddhism. It was built on high ground to give it a commanding position, and had at its further end the three monogramatic emblems on a high throne with the wheel on one side. Possibly there was likewise a *caitya*, but of this there is no indication. In many Buddhist places of worship, the wheel was the only emblem preserved, and we have abundant proofs of it in bas-reliefs at Bhilsā, Barāhat and Buddha Gayā, and also in some of the Vihāra caves[26], and it was not necessary to have a *caitya* likewise. Even if the mound be admitted to be the remains of a *caitya*, still the importance attributed to the emblems would show that they and the hall in which they were preserved were of greater importance than the tumulus. The **[109]** faithful came to the hall, prostrated themselves before the sacred emblems, and made their simple offerings ; and when Yayāti took possession of the place, he allowed this form of worship to continue, but changed the names of the emblems, and appointed priests to perform *pūjā* with Hindu *mantras*, so that gradually the ritual changed, until it became what we see it now. Adverting to Yayāti's revival, Stirling, quoting the authority of the *Palm Leaf Records*, says : 'The formation of new image being considered an indispensible preliminary, the priests proceeded into the woods to look for a proper *dāru* or piece of timber, and having found one with all the requisite qualities indicated by the Śāstras, they brought it to the Rājā, who, filled with pious zeal, clothed both it and the old images in rich robes, and conducted them in great state to Puri. A new temple was then erected on the site of the old one, which was found to be much dilapidated and overwhelmed with sand. The four images were afterwards duly prepared and set up on their *siṃhāsana* or throne with much pomp and solemnity on the 5th of Kākarā (when the sun was in the sign of Cancer—July), in the thirteenth year of the Rājā's reign, amidst the shouts and rejoicings of the multitude. At the same time the necessary officers were appointed, feasts and festivals established, *sāsans* founded, and the whole country around Puri assigned as endowments for the maintenance of the temple. On this memorable occasion the Rājā received by general acclamation the title of second Indradyumna'[27]. The *Temple Annals* for the time, however, are not contemporary records, and the erection of the temple and the making of new images described in them, appear to me to be fictitious. It is in the nature of mythology to rehabilitate old ideas, to change names, to give prominence to particular attributes, and to consign others into oblivion ; and if my theory of appropriation be tenable, it would not be in keeping with new temples and new images. No one would attempt anything of the kind. To win the good will of the people, the Rājā would *repair* the old temple, and glorify the old images ; and this I believe was what Yayāti did. His successors were too ardently devoted to the worship of Śiva[28] in their metropolis to think much of a distant town ; or to add any *eclat* to the worship of Jagannātha, though, as already shown, they never neglected it. It is not at all likely, therefore, that the original Buddhist fane was disturbed for several centuries.

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[25] In English books it is usual to refer only to the three images ; but the Puruṣottama Māhātmya refers to the wheel along with the others, and calls them 'four images', (Caturmūrti).

[26] Cunningham's 'Bhilsā Topes', Fergusson's 'Tree and Serpent Worship' and my 'Buddha Gayā'.

[27] Asiatic Researches, xv. p. 265.

Anangabhima Deva. The fane, however, could not last for ever ; in course of time it mouldered and decayed, and when the Śivite dynasty of the Keśarīs had passed away, and a new one, that of the Gaṅgāvaṃśīs with a strong Vaiṣṇavite leaning came to power, the necessity was felt for thoroughly repairing or renewing it. According to the *History of Puri* by Braja Kishore Ghose, 'The temple was entirely covered with sand, in which it remained buried for a long time. This circumstance was brought to the notice of Rājā Anaṅgabhīma Deva, who immediately set out to discover it, and happened to find the spot where it had sunk ; he then removed the sand, and the temple was restored in A.D. 1198'[29]. This is a second edition of the incident alluded to in the history of Yayāti. Mr. Stirling does not refer to this burial in sand and subsequent exhumation of the temple. After adverting to the Rājā's having incurred the guilt of killing a Brahman, to motives of superstition prompting him to construct numerous temples as an expiation for his offence and to the various public works he completed, he says, the Rājā 'filled the whole Kṣetra of Jagannātha with sacred edifices, and the great temple was erected by his orders under the superintendence of Paramahaṃśa Bājapeyi, at an expense of about thirty to forty lacs. The date of its completion was A. D. 1196. He at the same time enlarged considerably the establishment, added fifteen Brahman and fifteen Sudra Sewaks or officiating priests, and gave fresh splendour to the worship of the deity of the place by the institution of numerous *bhogas* and *yātrās* (feasts and festivals)'[30]. Dr. Hunter thus dilates on the circumstances which led to Anaṅgabhīma's building the temple : 'In the midst of his grandeur he was struck down by a great calamity. He unhappily slew a Brahman, and the rest of his life became one grand expiation of the guilt. Tradition relates that he built sixty stone temples to the gods ; bridged ten board rivers ; dug forty great wells and encased them with solid masonry ; constructed one hundred and fifty-two flights of stairs on the river banks as bathing-places and points of transit ; founded four hundred and fifty colonies of Brahmans upon lands granted out of the royal demesne ; and excavated one million of tanks to protect the crops of the husbandmen. To him appeared lord Jagannātha in a dream and commanded him to journey to the sands of Puri, and there to call on his name, so the king in the twelfth year of his reign journeyed to Puri and offered up his prayers'[31]. He consulted his vassals and chief officers and addressed them at great length on the propriety of re-erecting the temple which he had in contemplation. 'So the great temple of Jagannātha was built as it now stands, all the chiefs and princes applauding the king's speech. Gold and jewels to the value of a million and a half measures of gold were set apart for the work, being estimated at half a million sterling in the money of our time. Fourteen years the artificers laboured and the temple was finished in A. D. 1198'. These details have been taken from the *Temple Annals* which had for some time before the date of Anaṅgabhīma [110] commenced to be daily recorded and for the period may be accepted as authentic; and the account, therefore, is much more reliable than that of the historian of Puri who brought no other qualification for the task than a knowledge of routine figures acquired by his connection with the office of the Puri Collectorate of which he was the head clerk. Neither Mr. Stirling nor Dr. Hunter has, however, noted a fact of considerable importance mentioned in the *Temple Records*; it is that the father of Anaṅgabhīma was the first to turn his attention to the Puri temple. Gaṅeśvara Deva, having been guilty of incest, was assassinated by his wife and followed in the sovereignty of Orissa by his son Kāmadeva Deva, who had the nick-name of Ekajaṭā on account of a lock of matted hair which he had on his head. He pulled down the old temple at Puri and commenced to build a new one. His reign, however, was limited to five years and he did not live long enough to finish the work he had taken in hand. His eldest son Madana Mahādeva had a reign of only four years. During that time he erected a temple to Nārāyaṇa under the name of Ālālanāthā at a distance of eight miles from Puri and then took in hand the great temple of Jagannātha; but he made no great progress in the work. Anaṅgabhīma was his brother and to him therefore devolved the task. He took for his model the Great Tower of Bhuvaneśvara and in imitation of that monument, but at the same time to eclipse its grandeur, produced its counterpart. An inscription[32] gives the date at Śaka 1119, i.e. A. C. 1197, and distinctly states that the temple was *caused to be erected* (*kārayāmāsa*) and *not restored* by Anaṅgabhīma Deva. There are frequent references too in works which cannot be later than the 9th or 10th century to the temple of Puri as an important place of pilgrimage and it is impossible to believe that the temple was then buried in sand entirely lost sight of. The temple existed and was visited by large numbers; but it enjoyed not much royal favour during the supremacy of the Keśarī line and could not cope with the glory of the Śivite revival at Bhuvaneśvara. Its ascendancy therefore dates after the decline of Bhuvaneśvara when a new dynasty gave impulse to a different but by no means an antagonistic form of faith.

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[28] To the Keśarīs are attributed the eight guardian Śambhus of Orissa

[29] 'The History of Puri', p. 10.

[30] Asiatic Researches, xv. p. 269.

[31] Hunter's Orissa, i, pp. 100-1.

The successors of Anaṅgabhīma were all devout Vaiṣṇavas and ardent worshippers of Jagannātha and during their reigns the splendour of the Puri temple was greatly enhanced; but it does not seem that any material change was made in the worship of the divinity by any of them. Puruṣottama Deva who, next to Anaṅgabhīma, was perhaps the most distinguished and successful prince of the Gaṅgāvaṃśa line devoted much attention to the worship of the divinity and called himself like his predecessors 'the sweeper of the sacred temple'; but he made no material addition or change in the ritual.

Caitanya's reformations. In the time of his successor Pratāparudra, however, the place was visited by the great Vaiṣṇavite reformer Caitanya and he found here a promising field for the promulgation of his doctrine. Born at Navadvīpa in Bengal, on the full-moon Phālguṇa in the Śaka year 1407, i.e., A.D. 1485, he had early turned his attention to religion : on his 28th year adopted the life of a hermit and devoted the remaining thirteen years of his life to the dissemination of his faith. His doctrine was the same as that of Śāṇḍilya as elaborated by Rāmānuja ; but the credit of giving it practical currency was entirely his own. Pratāparudra received him with great honour and soon became one of his followers. And between the tutor and the pupil the system of Bhakti or love was made to supplant the theory of veneration. From the time of Yayāti Keśarī to that of Puruṣottama, Jagannātha was looked upon as the Supreme Divinity to whom the highest veneration was due, and the rituals of the feasts and festivals were so regulated as to display that feeling in every from. But Caitanya looked upon the divinity as an object of love and evinced for him the same feeling which a human lover entertains for his mistress. Of the nature of this system of faith, a brief summary has already been given in Vol. I (pp. [154f]), and nothing further need be said here. Caitanya, who was most ardently attached to it, and was at the same time its most zealous disseminator, found the Temple of Puri the best adapted for his purpose. The old Buddhist character of the place had been preserved to a great extent. The images there were those of divinities who were as yet no members of the Hindu pantheon, except by analogy ; the name of the principal divinity was of so unsectarian a character (lord of the world) that is left a wide room for innovation ; and caste distinctions, which elsewhere raised insuperable barriers against a wide system of proselytism, had been long since destroyed by Buddhism, and never been revived, – every one within the sacred precincts of the temple enclosure was equal to his neighbour and the holy rice-offering to the images could be touched and eaten by all without any let or hindrance. These were exactly the conditions which suited his purpose best and he did not fail to take advantage of them to the utmost extent possible. With the co-operation of the Rājā, he caused the mystic songs of Jayadeva to be recited before the images every morning and evening as a part of the daily service, and gave such a turn to the ritual as to make the worship thoroughly anthropomorphic. The divinity ceased, and in his place rose the being who may be loooked upon at option as the master, friend, parent, or mistress of the worshipper, and his service was modelled accordingly. **[III]** A human being, on rising from bed, must first wash his mouth and brush his teeth, and the first service was accordingly made to typify washing and brushing. Bathing, berafast, recreations, dining and sleeping all followed in symbolisms, and the worship of the divinity was changed to the service of man. This anthropomorphic form of worship, first introduced by Caitanya, still obtains and traits of it will be seen in the account of the feasts and the festivals which will be given further on. The memory of the reformer is held in the highest veneration and there are upwards of 800 temples devoted to his worship to Orissa.

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[32] 'In the Śaka Year of holes (9), moon (1), beauty (1), lord of the stars (1), the building was caused to be erected by the wise Anaṅgabhīma'. This makes the year correspond with 1197 A D.

Dr. Hunter is of opinion that 'the death of the reformer marks the beginning of the spiritual decline of Viṣṇu-worship'. 'The most deplorable corruption of Viṣṇu-worship at the present day is that which has covered the temple walls with indecent sculptures and filled its innermost sanctuaries with licentious rites'. He qualifies this, however, by adding that 'it is difficult for a person not a Hindu to pronounce upon the real extent of this evil. None but a Hindu can enter any of the larger temples and none but a Hindu priest really knows the truth about their inner mysteries'[33]. Elsewhere he says, 'Śiva-worship, on the contrary, is a religion of stern realities. Whatever it does, it does with a rigid seriousness that is altogether a stranger to the luxurious sensuousness of the worship of Kṛṣṇa. Its shrines are seldom disgraced by the obscenities which stand out in imperishable stones from the walls of Viṣṇu temples. Indeed, throughout Orissa I have found the absence or presence of prurient sculptures almost as good a criterion of the sect to which a temple belongs, as the mystic wheel of Viṣṇu or the trident of Śiva which surmounts its tower'[34]. Mr. Fergusson is equally positive on the subjeet ; and his opinion is given without any qualification. He says, 'The worship of Śiva is too severe, too stern, for the softer emotions of love, and all his temples are quite free from any allusion to it. The contrary is the case with the Vaiṣṇavas, who abhor the Liṅgam. Love pervades all their myths and all their temples are full of sexual feelings generally expressed in the grossest terms. The existence of any such representation in a temple at once fixes it as originally dedicated to the worship of Viṣṇu or some of his *avatārs*'[35]. Leaving out of consideration the fact that the Liṅgam is the symbolism of the grossest phallic idea whereas Viṣṇu typifies a divine protector, and confining my attention here solely to temple ornaments and rituals, I must say that my experience in this matter has been entirely different. In the Central Provinces and in Orissa where the peculiar offensive representations abound—they are all but totally absent in the North-Western Provinces—I have found them common enough everywhere, more abundant on the Great Tower of Bhuvaneśvara dedicated to Śiva than on the sanctuary of Jagannātha disigned for Viṣṇu and quite as plentiful on the porch of the sun-god at Koṇārak. In the large and profusely sculptured temple of Ananta Vāsudeva (p, [83]) dedicated to Viṣṇu they are totally wanting. In fact, the extent of the objectionable sculptures has been regulated generally by the taste of the artist and the extent of sculptured ornaments devoted to a temple and not at all by the nature of the divinity for whom the structures have been designed ; and nothing but serious mistakes can result from judging of the character of the divine images inside from the extent of the licentious sculptures on the outside. Besides, such as they are, these sculptures date from centuries before the birth of Caitanya and cannot, therefore, be attributed to his doctrines, or to his followers. As a Hindu by birth and a Vaiṣṇava by family religion I have had the freest access to the innermost sanctuaries and to the most secret of scriptures. I have studied the subject most extensively and have had opportunities of judging which no European can have and I have no hesitation in saying that, 'the mystic songs' of Jayadeva and the 'Ocean of love' notwithstanding, there is nothing in the rituals of Jagannātha which can be called licentious.

A century and a quarter after the time of Caitanya, Jagannātha was assailed by a more implacable enemy than he had ever before met with. It was not other than the dreaded pervert and iconoclast Kālāpāhāḍa, the sound of whose kettledrum made the ears and noses of Hindu images to drop down. He attacked Orissa during the reign of Mukunda Deva, who had invited the evil by extending his kingdom far to the north in Bengal and by building a landing-place on the Hugli at Trivenī. The then Afghan king repelled the invasion, and carried fire and sword through the provinces of the assailant and soon overcame and killed him in battle near Yājapur.

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[33] 'Orissa', i, p. 111. [34] Ibid. i, p. 112. [35] 'Tree and Serpent Worship', p. 71.

'According to the *Māndala Pāñji*, when the priests at Puri saw the turn which matters were taking, they again for the third time in their annals, hurried away the helpless god in a covered cart, and buried him in a pit at Pārikūd, on the Cilkā Lake. Kālāpāhāḍa was not however to be defrauded of so rich a prize and having traced out the place of concealment, he dug up Śrī Jeo and carried him off on an elephant, as far as the Ganges, after breaking in pieces every image in the Khetra. He then collected a large pile of wood, and setting fire to it, threw the idol on the burning heap, but immediately all his limbs dropped off and he perished miserably. A bystander observed, "This is a punishment for the indignity offered to the Deo of Orissa", and snatching the image from the flames threw it into the river. The whole proceeding had been watched by Besar Mainti, a faithful votary of Jagannātha, who followed the half-burnt image as it floated down the stream, [112] and at last, when unperceived, managed to extract from it the sacred part (Bramh or spirit in the original), and brought it back secretly to Orissa, where it was carefully deposited in charge of the Khandait of Kujang'[36].

Twenty years after, during the reign of Rājā Rāmcandra Deva, the relic was rescued from its hiding place, images were made and their worship restored with much pomp and solemnity. A few years subsequently, during the Moghal invasion of Orissa, the images were, according to Stirling, 'twice or thrice carried away across the Chilkā Lake, and concealed amidst the hills, until the times appeared favourable for again setting them upon their thrones in the temple. This religious warfare was at last set at rest by the institution of the tax on pilgrims, which if we may credit the author of the work translated by Gladwin, under the title of *History of Bengal,* yielded to the Moghal government a revenue of nine lacs. Under such circumstances, religious antipathies, however strong on the part of the ruling power, must have yielded gradually to considerations of self-interest'[37].

According to Muhammadan Historians generally, these 'considerations of self-interest' did put a period to all further disasters to the sacred images, and they have been ever since allowed to enjoy in peace the homage of their teeming votaries ; but in a private diary, entitled *Tabśirat-ul-Nāzirīn*, and kept by a Bilgrāmi Sayyid named Sayyid Muhammad, son of Mir Alwal Jalāl, the late Mr. Blochmann found a passage which shows that that redoubtable iconoclast Aurangzib did not, for the sake of the tax, let Jagannātha alone. The passage, as communicated to me by Mr. Blochmann, runs thus :

'On the 24th Shawwāl of this year (A. H. 1129) died Mir Sayyid Mahmud of Bilgrām. He was a man held in great respect, and had served under Nawab Ikrām in Orissa. When Aurangzib had sent orders to the Nawab to destroy the temple of Jagannātha, Rājā Darap Singh Deo, who had the temple under him, asked the Mir to introduce him to the Nawab. The Rājā promised to break up the temple and send the big idol to the Emperor. He actually did break the statue of Rākas which stood over the entrance of the temple and also two battlements over the door. The idol, which was made of sandal wood and which had two valuable jewels set in the eyes, was carried off and sent to Aurangzib at Bijāpur, where it was thrown by order on the steps of the Mosque'. The Rājā here referred to is obviously Dravya Siṃha Deva, who reigned from 1690 to 1713 A. D. He was only a titular Rājā, living as a zemindar under the supremacy of the Moghals and the attempt on his part to ingratiate himself in the favour of the Nawab by breaking a statue, or a couple of battlements, is by no means remarkable. Whether he sent away the divine images or some substitutes for them is not known. If he did send away the originals, the priests no doubt took good care to abstract from them the relic which constituted their essence.

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[36] Asiatic Researches, xv, p. 290. [37] Ibid. xv, p. 295.

Markandesvara Temple and Atharanala bridge. From what has been stated above, it will be seen that the oldest building extant at Puri—the one whose date is unquestionable—is the temple of Alābukeśvara, built by Lalāṭendu Keśarī, the builder of the Great Tower of Bhuvaneśvara (A. D. 623-677), and next that of Mārkaṇḍeśvara, erected by order of Kuṇḍala Keśarī (A. C. 811-829). The latter is a small temple so masked and modernised by repairs, additions and plastering, that it is utterly valueless as a monument of former days. Next to it comes the bridge of Āṭhāranālā (A. D. 1038-1050). It is built partly of laterite and partly of sandstone and has a total span of 290 feet, divided into 18 openings, of which the extreme ones are the narrowest and the central one the widest. The structure is very solidly built and its arches being of the horizontal or overlapping kind, and of a very moderate span, from 7 to 16 feet, it has withstood the wear and tear of well nigh a thousand years without assuring any sign of decay. It may yet last for many a century. An engraving of this bridge occurs in Mr. Stirling's articles on Orissa in the *Asiatic Researches* (Vol. xv.), but he attributes it to Kabir Narsing Deo (A. D. 1282-1302). I give the date from the *Temple Annals* as summarised by Babu Bhavanicharana Bandyopadhyaya.

Great Temple. Boundary wall. We next come to the great temple itself—the 'Puri Pagoda' of mariners. It is situated at a distance of seven furlongs from the sea-shore, at the western end of the main street of the town, in Latitude 19° 48m. 17s.N. and Longitude 85° 51 m. 39 s. E. It stands on a mound about twenty feet above the level of the surrounding ground, and this has been ennobled by the high-sounding title of Nīlagiri or the 'Blue Hill'. As the whole of the mound is now covered by buildings, I could not ascertain whether the eminence is due to a sand-ridge, or to the rubbish of the ancient Buddhist structure over which the present temple has been built. Looking to the globular form which sand-ridges do not usually assume, and knowing well that the Hindus, like all sensible people, are averse to build on sand, I am disposed to think that the spot was originally a high one—a natural mound—and over it stood the Vihāra Hill which had either fallen down, or was so dilapidated as to necessitate its demolition, and on the site of it the new structure was erected. The idea of sanctity was intimately associated with the spot[38], and advantage was taken of it by securing to the new fane the whole of that sanctity **[113]** by locating it on the same spot, and the rubish of the old one, which was obviously not carted away, served to raise the level of the ground. Seen from a prominent place, the globular character of the mound appears distinct, but the outer walls called Meghanāda Prācīra, which surrounded it, are straight and enclose a rectangular area 665 x 644 ft. The ground outside not being perfectly level, but the top of the walls being even throughout, the height of the walls varies from 20 to 24 ft., the greater part being 22 ft : their thickness is the same throughout. The walls are built of dressed laterite blocks ; they are plain on the body, but capped with Saracenic battlements (see plate LII). Aesthetically these walls are serious drawbacks on the beauty of the temple, as they completely shut out all but a portion of its top from the roads which line the four sides of it. Nor did they form a part of the original plan. The temple was erected on the top of the mound and surrounded by a low wall also on the top of the mound, so that the sloping sides of the mound were all exposed, and the beholders, standing on the road beyond the slope at a considerable distance, could see the whole of the place to great advantage. Three centuries after the erection of the temple, in the reign of Purusottama Deva, when foreign incursions were being apprehended, strategic considerations suggested the necessity of a stronger defensive outwork than the old wall, and the present walls were the result. From their great height and massive thickness, they were well adapted to repel invasions of cavalry and infantry unaided by siege trains. The battlements, as originally put up, were of small size ; but at about the early part of the last century the front and the southern walls, when repainted, were provided with battlements of large size, each measuring 22 inches in height. The large battlements are best seen in plates LII and LIII which show the eastern and the southern facades, and the small ones on the western and the northern walls.

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[38] A curious illustration of the idea of sanctity attached to the spot was afforded a few years ago, when a stone from the roof of the temple had fallen down, and the images had to be removed from it. The Uriyas refused to eat the cooked rice offered to the images in their temporary abode, for, they said, the food acquired its sanctity from the place and not from the images and the consecration service, inasmuch as food consecrated elsewhere before other images of Viṣṇu is not so eaten.

Gateways. There is a large gateway on each side of the enclosure, that on the east being the most magnificent. It is a square building with pyramidal roof as Orissa propylons usually are, and loaded with sculptures, some of the statues being of life-size. The door-frames are of black chlorite and most profusely carved in bands of rich design. The doors are of *sāl* wood and coarse make. They are evidently of a much later date than the masonry. On each side of the entrance there is a colossal crouching lion of the usual Orissan make, with a crown on the head. The two animals are of imposing appearance, and serve as guards at the doorway, and from them the doorway has derived its name of Siṃhadvāra or the 'lion gate'. On the side pilasters of the door there are a couple of statues of human beings,—stout athletes.—Jayā and Vijayā by name, who occupy the same pasition in Indian romance which Gog and Magog do in European story-books. The other gates, though formed on the same plan and style, are not quite so rich in sculpture. The northern one had two elephants for guards, and thence its name Hastidvāra or 'elephant gate'. The animals are about five feet high and mounted by *mahuts* on the neck. Their carving is good and creditable to the artist. One of them was somehow injured while *in situ*, probably by a cart, and the road before the gate on this side not being particularly broad and running flush by the wall, it was deemed expedient to remove the statues from their original position to an out-of-the-way place near the inner gate on that side. The southern gate had to horses, whence its name Aśvadvāra. Some time ago the statues were removed from this gate to the north-eastern doorway of the inner enclosure, whence they have since been lost. The western gate had no special guardians, and it owes its specific name Khānjādvāra to the fact of trays full of offerings from certain ladies being brought in through it.

The Sun Pillar. Aruna Stambha. In front of the eastern gateway there is an artistic ornament of marked elegance and great beauty. (Plates LI [F] and LII). It is a monolithic pillar of chlorite, set on an exquisite pedestal of the same material (Plate LII). Its pedestal is 7 ft. 9 inches square and 6ft. high, the base-tile being 1 foot and the plinth over it 5 ft. The former is plain ; the latter is formed of two tiles with an ornament somewhat resembling a torus, but its edge is flattened instead of being rounded, and over it there is another series of tiles. The carvings on these are of the most sumptuous description, the like of which are to be seen nowhere else in India ; as a piece of art-work they are fit to be compared with the best specimens of the kind in any part of the country. The pillar at first sight appears like a fluted column, but it has not a round shaft with flutes cut on it. The design was the square ; but the angles were repeatedly cut, so as to produce a sixteen-sided polygonal column. It measures from the top of the plinth to the bottom of the capital twenty-five feet two inches. It has a diameter of 2 feet and a circumference of 6 feet 3½ inches. The capital is formed of two rings surmounted by a series of lotus petals and covered over by a square tile having two receding tiles over it. The height of this capital is 2 feet 6 inches and the whole is capped by the figure of a monkey squatting. The measurements give a total height, from the ground to the top of the capital, of 33 feet 8 inches[39]. The height of the monkey was not measured by me. This monumental pillar was originally set up before the Sun Temple at Koṇārak, and thence brought by the Marhattas in the early part of last century. In its present situation the pillar is scarcely a hundred and fifty years old ; but its **[114]** execution dates from the early part of the 13th century. Counterparts of this pillar occur at several places in Orissa ; one at Yājapur, made of the same material and in the same style, is probably older, showing that the style was not unknown to the Indian artists. The base of the Yājapur column, as now seen, is, however, rough and uncarved, and its neck has a festoon of garlands. The roughness of the base is attributed to Moslem fanaticism, which attempted to overturn the pillar, but the garlands are unquestionable evidence of age. On its crown there was a figure of the monster bird Garuḍa, the vehicle of Viṣṇu. The festoon ornament was doubtless copied from that member of the Aśoka *lāṭs* of 3rd century B. C., but it was dispensed with, not without considerable improvement, by the architect of the Koṇārak pagoda. The pillar is named Aruṇa Stambha, or the Sun Pillar, from the circumstance of its having been brought from the temple of the sun. No mention of this pillar occurs in the *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, but, adverting to the Yājapur specimen, its author says, 'it deserves to be illustrated as one of the most pleasing examples of its class in India. Its proportions are beautiful, and its details in excellent taste ; but the mouldings of the base, which are those on which the Hindus are accustomed to lavish the utmost care, have unfortunately been destroyed'[40]. He takes its date to be 'the 12th or the 13th century'. The Sun Pillar was first figured by Mr. Stirling[41]. Dr. Hunter subsequently produced a well-executed and very faithful engraving of it in his excellent wok on Orissa[42], and a photograph occurs in plate LII. Of the Yājapur pillar, Sir John Phear has published a faithful lithograph taken from a photograph,[43] and a woodcut occurs in Mr. Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*,[44] and a glance at these figures will show that as a work of art the Sun Pillar is greatly superior to that at Yājapur. The one has still the Aśoka *lāṭ* for its model, while the other rises far above it in excellence of design and freedom of execution ; and this would imply the latter to be later than the former. History, too, as far as its glimmering light can be accepted as a guide, is in favour of this conclusion. Yājapur rose to eminence and declined long before Koṇārak ; and the pillar must therefore be accepted to have long preceded the years 1237 to 1282 A. D., during which the Sun Temple was erected. It is unquestionable, however, that the pillar at Yājapur formed an ornament of the temple of Varāha at Caṇḍeśvara, built by Pratāparudra Deva between 1504 to 1532 A. D., and its appurtenance consequently must at first sight appear to be of the same age. But even as in the case of the Sun Pillar, the date of the building before which it now stands has no relation to it, so might be the case with the Yājapur monument. The Indian name of these columns is *jayastambha* or 'pillar of victory,' and their character is everywhere memorial or monumental, and as such, they abound everywhere in India. The Jains utilised them as lamp-posts by putting lamps on the top on ceremonial occasions, whence the Jain name Dīpadāna ; but ordinarily they are purely monumental. Of the peculiar type of column now under notice, there are several in Orissa, notably one at Kendrāpārā,[45] and it would be by no means too much to assume that the Yājapur pillar had existed from before, and only utilised by Pratāparudra, though for such an assumption there are no other data besides its garlanded collar which is the counterpart of Aśoka columns.

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[39] Abul Fazl, in the Ain-i-Akbari, gives the height at 50 yards.

[40] Fergusson, 'History of Indian and Eastern Architecture', p. 432.

[41] Asiatic Researches, xv, plate facing p. 328.

[42] Orissa, i, p. 290.

Outer Enclosure. The area within the enclosing walls was originally not level, but sloping from the table-land above towards the foot of the walls, plate LI.[46] This is evident from the flights of steps which have been built on all the four sides to reach the top. The flight on the front, to the east, includes twenty-two steps, and is commonly known under the name of Bāiśpaiṭā[47]. The flight on the other sides is less extensive, that to the west being the shortest. The slope in some other places is also distinctly seen : but elsewhere it has been levelled for the erection of small temples and out-offices, and in front so filled up as to bring up the level flush with the top of the mound. At the top of the steps there is a double wall dividing the area into two, an outer and an inner enclosure. The former is broadest on the south side and narrowest on the west, the measurements being : south 160 feet, east 144, north 150, and west 68 feet, comprising an area of about 2,73,142 square feet, while the superfices of the inner enclosure is barely 1,11,200 square feet.

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[43] Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1872, plate I.

[44] Woodcut, No. 239, p. 433.

[45] Hunter, 'Orissa', i, p. 290.

[46] The sacred enclosure had never before been surveyed and mapped, and my first business on reaching the sacred town was to prepare a plan. In this I was ably assisted by Babu Radhikaprasad Mukarji, then Assistant Engineer of Puri. We together measured the place with the aid of a compass and a surveying chain, and then I left my field-book with the Babu, who kindly offered to draw out a plan from it, for the use of this work. On my return to Calcutta, the Babu had occasion to go over the ground again, as he found some of my figures and directions doubtful, and then prepared a plan, a reduced copy of which is given in plate LI. The plan was sent to me two months after my return from Puri. Some months afterwards, finding that owing to my ill-health I could not bring out the plan soon, the Babu got the plan, along with an elevation of the temple, printed at Surveyor General's Office, and published. Reduced copies of this have since been published in Dr. Hunter's 'Orissa', and Mr. Fergusson's 'History of Indian and Eastern Architecture'.

[47] In plate LI, owing to a mistake of the draftsman, therer are only 17 steps shown.

Entering the sacred enclosure by the eastern gate, the first two objects of interest shown to the pilgrim are images of Kāśiviśvanātha and Rāmacandra, on the left-hand side of the stairs. The images were evidently intended for some other place and have been stuck against the side-wall, their bases resting on the steps of the Bāiśpaiṭā. (Plate LI, 1 and 2). **[115]** The landing on the top of the stairs is narrow and usually littered by the trays and pots of the dealers in the sacred food of the divinity. Along the whole range of the steps there is, on the top of the revetment on the right side, a line of shops for the sale of the same article. The area behind this line is guarded by a gateway and is covered by several large mango and *aśvattha* trees, giving it a cool and pleasant appearance, Its level is nearly flush with that of the inner enclosure, and on it the most important structure is the Snāna Vedi (No. 56), or the bathing platform, whereon the sacred images are placed and bathed at the great annual festival of Snāna Yātrā. Close by it is a small pavilion (No. 57), where the goddess Lakṣhmī takes her seat to behold the ceremony aforesaid. There is a corresponding pavilion on the other side of the gateway (No. 58), but not at the same distance, to which the goddess resorts to welcome Jagannātha on his return from his annual car excursion. Beyond it there is a mill-house for grinding corn and close by it the great kitchen *Pākaśālā*, with its store rooms and wells. The kitchen dates from the reign of Drāvyasiṃha Deva (A. D. 1690 to 1713) and was built by a private person named Rājendra Rāya, under the auspices of Govinda Mahāpātra, the then chief minister. It is connected with the temple by a covered passage, which enables the priests to carry the sacred food to the temple without running the risk of interruption or defilement by the touch of strangers. Formerly the room at No. 77 served as a kitchen, but it was not large enough for the purpose and caused a nuisance by its smoke entering the temple. The other buildings in this enclosure—mostly temples—are of little interest and call for no notice. The building on the north side, enjoying the high-sounding name of Vaikuṇṭha, the heaven of Viṣṇu, is a miserable little two-storeyed brick house intended for the dwelling of some of the priests. Rich pilgrims who propose to grant a permanent endowment are brought here and made to undergo a ceremony called Aṭkiābāndhā, whereby the endowment is ratified. At the north-west corner there is a small spot called *Mādhavī Kuñja* or the bower of Mādhavī creeper (*Goertnera racemosa*), which is reserved for the burial of the sacred figures when new ones are made to replace them. This happens at very long intervals. Except under the mango tope at the north-east corner the area of the outer enclosure is very much neglected and in some places overgrown with brushwood and littered with rubbish.

The Inner Enclosure. It has been already stated that the walls of inner enclosure (400 x 278 ft.) are double, formed of two parallel lines having a narrow space between the two. The object of this arrangement none of the priests could explain to me. It is obvious, however, that when the outer walls did not exist these inner walls formed the defensive work of the temple. The space between the two walls (11 ft.) was either intended to be filled up with earth, so as to give the walls such thickness as to render them proof against hostile attacks, or to serve as a gallery for the defenders to go about and to shoot at the assailants without exposing themselves. Access to this gallery, however, is now closed and I did not scale the walls to see what was the level of the ground between the walls. The walls are called *Hosanberā* and the openings through these walls are six in number, four corresponding with the four outer gates, one leading to the top at the north-east corner and one to the covered passage of the kitchen. Of these the oldest is the eastern one, corresponding with the lion gate. It has a propylon of the same character as the outer one and is as richly sculptured. Aesthetically the four doors corresponding with the outer gates would have been best located had they been placed right opposite to them ; but strategical considerations led to their being placed slightly to one side. The centre of the area within this enclosure is occupied by the great temple and the sides by a great number of small ones, some sacred spots and several out-offices, store-rooms, shops and the like. The names of these have been given in the plan : most of them are modern and held in no great estimation by the people. A few, however, are worthy of special notice. The most important of these to the pious pilgrim is No. 9, called Vaṭeśvara. It is the sacred fig-tree under which the Brahman messenger from Indradyumna met the pious hunter Viśvāvasu, so say the priests ; but curiously enough the tree in the legend was an *aśvattha* (*Ficus religiosa*), whereas the tree as we now find it is the *vaṭa* (*Ficus indica*). The tree is certainly not two hundred years old but it evidently occupies the site of the holy Bo tree which doubtless formed an important appurtenance of the sacred fane when it belonged to the Buddhists. The tree is called Kalpavṛkṣa, and is noted for making barren women fruitful. Women who wish to bear the pledge of love to their lords spread the hem of their *sāri* under the tree and remain waiting in expectation of a fruit dropping on it from the tree. Should this happen within a resonable time, they retire satisfied that their object will soon be attained. The *Kapila Saṃhitā* as usual sings the praise of the tree in the most eulogistic terms. 'Whoever', it says, 'stands under the shadow of this tree, immediately clears himself from the sin of killing Brahmans. Of him who circumambulates the tree and then worships it, Hari remits all the sins committed in the course of a hundred generations. At the foot of this tree there is an image of Maṅgalā, the giver of prosperity to gods, and whoever beholds her and offers har adoration emancipates himself from all delusion'. Close by it is an open pillared choultry called Mukti-maṇḍapa, the hall of **[116]** salvation, where Pandits and and professors daily assemble to expound the Śāstras and lecture to the faithful (No. 16). It is a rectangular building, 38 feet square, with a plain high plinth and a pyramidal roof supported on 16 massive chlorite pillars, those of the inner range being of one pattern, and those of the outer of another. (See Vol. I, Plate VI, figs. 10*a* and 10*b*). It is said to have been erected by Pratāparudra Deva in A.D. 1525, but it would be no great presumption to suppose that it is the representative of the Vihāra Hall which the Buddhists must have had in the place. Its roof was renewed about the middle of last century by Śrīdhara Paṭnāyaka in the reign of Vīrakiśora Deva. A little beyond it is a small tank called Rohiṇī Kuṇḍa (No. 26), a dip in which metamorphosed the crow in the legend into Viṣṇu (ante, p. [101]).

An image of the crow with four hands is preserved on a stone-slab close by (No. 20). To the faithful these are objects of great interest and to the priests sources of a steady income; but there is nothing in them for the archaeologist. Immediately to the west of the tank there is a temple of medium size, but of considerable age, which is dedicated to Vimalā Devī, 'the stainless wife of the All-destroyer', Mahādeva, who presides here as a guardian of the Lord of the Universe. Though ensconced in a Vaiṣṇavite sanctuary, founded on the traditions of the Buddhists, and imbued with the utmost repugnance to animal sacrifice, the goddess has not been able to forego her partiality for flesh-meat, and once a year, on the eighth of the waxing moon in the month of Āśvina, has a kid sacrificed to her at midnight. The priests of Jagannātha do not readily acknowledge this; but when hard pressed explain it away as a mystery.

The temple at the north-east corner is also an old one and of considerable religious pretension, but by no means rich in sculpture, except in its Nāṭ-mandir, which is of modern date (No. 37). It is dedicated to Lakṣmī, the immaculate wife of Jagannātha, who, though not admitted a place in the sanctuary of the great god, takes a prominent place in all his festivals and rejoicings and, as becomes a faithful wife, anxiously awaits at the Bheṭ maṇḍapa (No. 58) his return from his annual excursion to the Guṇḍicā garden. Next to it is another of nearly the same size, and called Sūrya Mandir or the sun temple (No. 38). It contains a small image of the sun seated on a car drawn by seven horses. This is said to have been originally the presiding divinity of the great Pagoda at Koṇārak, whence it was removed to this place on the destruction of the temple there. This is not, however, generally acknowledged and right in front of the figure on the throne there are the images of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa which cover it from the view of the faithful. It was by going inside the sanctuary and standing close by the side of the throne that I could see it with the aid of a lamp at midday. The object of thus secreting the figure none would or could tell me.

The Great Temple. As at Bhuvaneśvara so at Puri the principal temple of the place includes four distinct buildings, of which the temple proper and the porch are of one date and the other two of two separate dates. As already stated (*ante* p. [109]), the temple was built in the reign and by order of Anaṅgabhīma Deva of the Gangetic Dynasty of Orissa[48]. The Dancing Hall or Nāṭ-mandir is obviously of a later date; but I could not ascertain the name of the king who had caused it to be erected. The Refectory or Hall of Offerings is attributed to the Marhattas of last century. The architect of the temple was Bhāskara Pandit and he devoted to the task full twelve years, bringing it to completion in A. D. 1197. The cost, it is said, amounted to forty lacs of rupees, a very large sum at a time when money was dear. The general style adopted was the same as that of the Great Tower of Bhuvaneśvara, but on a larger scale, and some of the details were changed to suit altered circumstances. The ground plan of the Great Tower is a square of 66 feet whereas that of the Puri temple is 80 feet from central pier to central pier—and the height has been raised from 160 to 192 feet. The last was ascertained by me from several angles taken from different distances.

The porch on the ground-plan is also 80 feet square but its height is limited to 120 feet.

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[48] These details are founded on the Temple Records and may be relied upon as perfectly authentic, but these are rarely acknowledged by the priesthood in the presence of pilgrims.

The plinth of both buildings is of the same height : 6 feet. Originally it was formed of bands and pannels but these have since been covered by a berm on each side, north and south. The front of the berm is perfectly plain, having only an indented moulding at the upper edge (see plate LIV). The remains of the old mouldings are partially visible on the west side. The body of the temple rises to a height of 35 feet above the plinth and all above it forms the spire. The body of the porch is slightly lower, being 31 ft. 6 in., and is protected by a cornice projecting 5 feet at a right angle from the upright wall. The pyramidal roof over it, formed of two sets of tiers as at Bhuvaneśvara, and set off with crests, comes almost to the outer edge of the cornice. This was a weak arrangement and in the absence of brackets, dentils or other mechanical support, the cornice some time ago broke down and had to be repaired **[117]** and trussed up with slanting iron bars, covered with plaster and modelled into caryatids. These are excessively ugly and not at all in keeping with the rest of the building.

Though the ground-plan is a square, as at Bhuvaneśvara, so at Puri the body of the temple has not that form ; the middle of each side comes flush with the outer line of the plinth and forms the most prominent pier and then a series of receding angles on either side so cuts off the corners as to give the whole a circular appearance and this is continued along the spire. In the porch these receding angles give a zig-zág appearance to the body, but its roof retains its pyramidal character with a square base. The central pier on each side of the temple bears on its middle a large niche framed with elaborate mouldings. The side angles are alternately cut into rounded pilasters and angular projections and they are set off with panels, recesses, and small niches framed with scrolls, bands and delicate mouldings, as at Bhuvaneśvara. The scrolls and the mouldings have, however, long since been filled up with *cunām* in course of the repeated repairs which the monument has undergone during the last six hundred years and I could trace them only by scraping out the *cunām* with a chisel. The projections of the porch are not so deep as those of the body. The niches, recesses and panels with which they are set off are similar to those on the temple and at one time had the same amount of carved-work, delicate floral mouldings and floral bands ; but these have been completely covered by *cunām*, leaving only the outlines of the larger mouldings roughly prominent. The present appearance of the details is shown in plate LXIV.

For some time after the erection of the temple no necessity was felt for repairs and nothing was attempted beyond slight touching up of breaks and accidental injuries ; but subsequently the destruction caused by repeated Moslem assaults rendered thorough repairs unavoidable. According to the *Temple Records*, the first thorough repairs to the temple were executed in the reign of Pratāparudra (A. D. 1504 to 1532), when, it is distinctly stated, the temple was 'plastered and white-washed'. Nṛsiṃha Deva repeated the operation in 1647. During the reign of Kṛṣṇa Deva (A. D. 1713 to 1718), soon after a Muhammadan assault, thorough repairs were again necessitated. And fifty years later the queen of Virakiśora Deva gave the fourth general repairs. Besides these, partial repairs were frequently had to be resorted to. In fact the purification of the temple after every Muhammadan assault included a white-washing, which, however beneficial as a lustration, told seriously against the delicate carved-work and its frequent repetition completed the ruin of the temple as a work of art.

The injury so done is irreparable. It has converted a monument scarcely inferior from an art point of view to the Great Tower of Bhuvaneśvara and quite as sumptuously carved as the Black Pagoda into an ugly mass of stones. It has led, however, to inferences about the decay of Indian art which are by no means justifiable. Mr. Fergusson, adverting to the absence of detail, says, 'The degradation of the faith, however, is hardly so remarkable as that of the style. Even Stirling, who was no captious critic, remarks that it seems unaccountable in an age when the architects obviously possessed some taste and skill, and were in most cases particularly lavish in the use of sculptural ornament, so little pains should have been taken with the decoration and finishing of this sacred and stupendous edifice. It is not, however, in the detail, but the outline, the proportions and every arrangement of the temple show that the art in this province at least had received a fatal downward impetus from which it never recovered'[49]. Again : 'Except in its double enclosure and a certain irregularity of plan this temple does not differ materially in arrangement from the great ones at Bhuvaneśvara and elsewhere ; but besides the absence of detail already remarked upon, the outline of its *vimāna* is totally devoid of either that solemn solidity of the earlier examples or the grace that characterised those subsequently erected ; and when we add to this that whitewash and paint have done their worst to add vulgarity to forms already sufficiently ungraceful, it will easily be understood that this—the most famous—is also the most disappointing of northern Hindu temples. As may be seen from the preceding illustration, the parts are so nearly the same as those found in all the old temples at Bhuvaneśvara, that the difference could hardly be expressed in words ; even the wood-cut, however, is sufficient to show how changed they are in effect, but the building itself should be seen fully to appreciate the degradation that has taken place'[50].

It is unquestionable that the monument is less attractive in appearance than the Great Tower of Bhuvaneśvàra. The absence of details gives it a nakedness of appearance which its size and proportions fail to overcome. That absence, however, is due not to the decay of art in the province, but to masking—to the covering up of all that gave it sharpness and grace and beauty : the Parthenon would be made equally ugly if its friezes and cornice, its details and volutes, its flutings and mouldings, be plastered over and entirely hidden, and the sharpness of its lines disturbed by a rough coating of white-wash. The learned critic has adverted to this cause, but he has not attached sufficient importance to it, and hence the mistaken inference. The fact that the Black Pagoda at Koṇārak, which is half a century later, is as profusely and delicately **[118]** carved as the Great Tower of Bhuvaneśvara is enough to show that the absence could not be fairly accounted for on the assumption of artistic incapacity, or of the decay of taste. That the present race of Oriyas are incapable of producing anything like what their remote ancestors did is a position which none will gainsay ; but evidence is wanting to prove that the degradation in artistic capacity commenced after the completion of the Bhuvaneśvara temple and culminated when the Puri monument was taken in hand. The arguments founded on the outline, the proportions and arrangement are equally wide of the mark. The Puri temple is not, and never was intended to be, an exact copy of the Bhuvaneśvara Tower ; but the outline and arrangement of the two are strictly the same and Mr. Fergusson himself admits this. The irregularity of the plan to which he refers I have failed to detect and the ground-plans shown in plates XLVIII and LI do not serve to help me in any way. As regards proportions, the same remark may be made with perfect safety. The Bhuvaneśvara Tower is a square of 66 feet on the ground-plan with a height of 160 feet. The Puri temple, with a base of 80 feet square, has a height of 192 feet[51]. Had it followed the exact proportions of the former, the height should have been 193 ft. 9 in., so the difference is only 1 ft. 9 in.—a sight difference which is easily accounted for by the fact of the level of the courtyards in the two places having been altered long after the erection of the temples. I shall say nothing about the absence of grace, as it is an intangible quantity dependent a good deal upon fancy, and I must in that respect yield to the learned archaeologist, though it would not be amiss to ask, how far that absence is due to the covering up of the details and how much to want of taste in the architect?

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[49] 'History of Indian and Eastern Architecture' pp. 429, 430. [50] Ibid. pp. 431 f.

The three large niches on the body of the temple contain, on the south side a colossal figure of Varāha with four hands, loaded with ornaments and dressed in figured brocade cloth like that of the Kārtika of the Bhuvaneśvara temple (*ante*, p. [74]); on the west that of Nṛsiṃha, or the man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu, similarly draped; on the north that of Vāmana, the dwarf incarnation. The figures are made of chlorite and fairly well executed. They occupy the same positions which Bhagavatī, Kārtika and Gaṇeśa do in the Bhuvaneśvara Tower, and have, like them, open pavilions in front to protect them from rain and at the same time to enable the faithful to go up and have a near view of them (Plate LI, Nos. 64, 66 and 67). Close by the western pavilion, there is a small recess in the plinth in which is shown a human figure in bas-relief with its hands and feet manacled (No. 65). This is called Ekādaśī, or the personification of the 11th of the moon. According to the Hindu canonical law the 11th is a day of rigorous fast and none should eat anything on that day. High caste Hindu widows observe it most strictly and religious men take but a slight repast on that day. The observance of the fast, however, in a place where the eating of the rice offered to the god is the most important of religious observances to the bulk of the people, would be an inconvenient one, interfering with the sale of the rice twice a month, and consequently with the profits of the priesthood. It is accordingly said that on one occasion the genius of the day disputed with Jagannātha the propriety of his allowing people to eat rice on fast days and particularly on the day of which the genius was the regent. Jagannātha explained to him that canonical law could not have any controlling power over a place which was above all laws, but those of faith in him. The genius, however, was not satisfied and wished to exercise his power; he was accordingly ordered to be manacled and there he lies in his bond in effigy at the foot of the temple. It is possible that there is in this a reminiscence of Buddhism which repelled the modern innovation, for the fast is an institution of comparatively modern date; but of this there is no definite proof. It is worthy of note, however, that the fast is a strictly Vaiṣṇavite institution, uncared for by the Śāktas, and its rejection in the most renowned of Vaiṣṇavite temples in all India is significant.

The smaller niches and recesses on the body of the temple and of the Porch have a great number of statues—three to five feet high—of men and women in different attitudes and rampant lions very much of the style of Bhuvaneśvara figures, but not quite so well carved. A few of the human figures are disgustingly obscene. Babu Brajakishore Ghosh, in his *History of Pooree* (p. 18), says, 'the walls are covered with paintings of the most indelicate and obscene description', but I saw none, and doubt very much if there ever were any paintings. It is very likely the author mistook carvings for paintings.

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[51] The height has been variously estimated from 180 to 200 feet by different writers. I rely upon the result of my calculations.

The broad sides of the spire, which in the temples of Bhuvaneśvara have lions projecting, are here set off with bas reliefs representing scenes from the history of Viṣṇu's different incarnations. On the south side Rāma's wars with the giant Rāvaṇa form the subject. On the west, Kṛṣṇa's frolics with the shepherdesses of Gokula appear as the prominent scenes. On the north, the coronation of Rāma, Hanumān, Kṛṣṇa, Jagannātha, four-handed Viṣṇu and other figures find places. Placed at a great height and covered with repeated layers of whitewash the figures, in low relief, were of doubtful appearance, and I could not satisfy myself whether they were carved on the stone of the spire when it was built or added afterwards in plaster. The spire is crowned with an iron discus which, it is said, was first put up by Śaṅkha Vāsudeva (A. D. 1337 to 1361) and subsequently renewed by Rāmacandra Deva (A. D. 1578 to 1607).

[119] On the south side of the temple there are two rooms, one leading to the other, and occupied by an image of Madanamohana. This is the exact counterpart of the little temple which occurs on the south side of the Great Tower at Bhuvaneśvara and its occupant does the same duty which that of the other does. That duty is to act as the proxy of Jagannātha in all processions, feasts and festivals in which he cannot himself from his great weight and immobility take a part.

The temple has an only doorway (14 ft. 4 in x 8 ft. 10 in.) opening into the porch or audience chamber. The latter is divided by square pillars into a nave and two aisles. Its nave is 38 feet long and its walls in the thickest parts 18 feet. It has four doorways, one to the west, which is common to it and the temple ; one opening to the south (13 ft. 8 in. x 6 ft. 6 in.) ; one to the Dancing Hall (14 ft. x 7 ft.), and the last to the north, leading to a chamber which forms the strong room of the temple. It is the depository of valuables never or rarely used for the service of Jagannātha. In this respect it serves the purposes of the *opisthodomus* of Greek temples. The spire of the temple is two storeyed and formerly the upper-storey-room was used for the deposit of valuables ; but, as at Bhuvaneśvara, so here the room in course of time became the receptacle of mephitic air and could not be approached without danger ; so it had to be forsaken and the room on the north side was built to supply its place. The new room is said to be about two hundred years old. There are three other rooms for the same purpose ; these have been formed by partitioning off the two ends of the northern and the off-end of the southern aisles of the porch, (No. 69, *a*, *b*, and *c*). In these are deposited the jewels, clothing, silver and gold utensils and other effects which are frequently required for use. The chambers *69b* and *69c* are the counterparts of what occur in the Great Tower of Bhuvaneśvara and No. 73 is the representative of the little chamber formed there in the recess of the northern doorway. At the south-east corner of the porch and detached from it, there is a small chamber of modern date which serves as a tiring-room for the dancers.

Dancing Hall. As already stated the Dancing Hall is of a much later date than the temple and its porch is architecturally of quite a distinct character. It is a square room, measuring 69 x 67 feet in the inside, the outside measurement being a square of 80 feet. It is divided by four rows of pillars into a nave and two aisles on each side. The pillars are square and totally devoid of ornaments ; but they are not of the same size ; those of the two inner rows being 4 feet square by 16ft. 8 in., while the two outer rows are 3 ft. 6 in. by 12 ft. 8 in. The nave measures 69 x 16 ft. The two aisles adjoining 10 ft. 6 in. and the two outer ones 7 ft. 9 in. each. It would seem that originally the Hall had only one aisle on each side and the pillars were 14 ft. 9 in. ; the second row was subsequently added to widen the room and additions made to the pillars to raise the height. The walls are perfectly bare, both outside and inside, and the only ornament in the room are two alto-rilievo human figures armed with clubs, called Jayā and Vijayā, and standing as guardians at the entrance to the Bhoga Maṇḍapa and a small pedestal on the east side of the nave, on which is placed a marble figure of Garuḍa. The figure is of the usual type and 2 feet high. Close by on the east wall there is also a painting in oil colours, representing two mounted cavaliers with a milkmaid standing before them and bearing a tray on her head. The story runs that Puruṣottama Deva, having been defeated in battle by the Rājā of Conjeveram, sought the aid of Jagannātha. The god not only promised assitance but volunteered 'to take the command of the expedition in person. When the Rājā had arrived during the progress of his march at the site of the village now called Mānikpatam he began to grow anxious for some visible indication of the presence of the deity. In the midst of his cogitations on the subject a milkmaid or *guālin* named Mānika came up and displayed a ring which, she said, had been entrusted to her to present to the monarch of Orissa by two handsome cavaliers mounted the one on a black and the other on a white horse, who had just passed to the southward. She also related some particulars of a conversation with them which satisfied the Rājā that the promise of assistance would be fulfilled and that these horsemen were no other than the brothers Śrī Jeo (Kṛṣṇa) and Baldeo (Baladeva). Full of joy and gratitude he directed the village to be in future called, after his fair informant, Mānikpatana and marched onwards to the Dakhan secure of success'[52]. The picture represents the interview between the cavaliers and the fair milkmaid. The topic of their conversation, it is said, was such as would be natural among gay cavaliers and a handsome young maiden.

Access to the hall is had by two doors on each side, north and south. One of these, however, has on each side a flight of steps, the other opening on the berm in front. There is a door too leading to the Refectory and the eastern door of the porch opens into it on the west. There are two other doors, very small ones, one at the south-east and the other at the south-west corner. The former opens into the covered passage from the kitchen and the latter to the berm on the south side and is intended for the priests who carry choice offerings from the kitchen to the temple proper. On the berms on the two sides of the hall there are four small buildings, one on the south and three on the north. The former

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[52] Asiatic Researches, xv, p. 281.

(No. 13) is a small circular temple occupied by a *liṅgam* ; and of the latter, the first (No. 71) is the tiring-room of Lakṣmī. **[120]** Here she comes from her temple (No. 37) to put on her robes before proceeding to the pavilion (No. 57) to welcome Jagannātha. The next (No. 72) is the orchestra, where the musicians assemble and play on their instruments at different stated times of the day and the night to mark the completion of particular ceremonies. But when such ceremonies are followed by dancing and singing, the usual place for them is the Dancing Hall itself. The last (No. 73) is devoted to an image of Kṛṣṇa.

Refectory or Hall of Offerings. The Refectory or Hall of Offerings, Bhoga Maṇḍapa, stands immediately to the east of the last. It is a square building like the other three but of smaller size. It measure 58 x 56 feet on the ground-plan and has a richly sculptured plinth 7 ft. 6 in. high. Its body above the plinth is 15 feet 6 inches high and profusely carved in the most finished style of Orissan art, and it is the only part of the temple enclosure which has not suffered from white-wash. In fact it has not been repaired since its erection in the middle of the last century and its material—a dark-red sandstone—retains its natural colour, slightly darkened by age. The statues on it are of smaller size than those which occur on the temple and the porch but they are of good workmanship. A few, however, are obscene. Only the front of the building is seen to advantage and a photograph of it taken by me is given in plate LV. The doorway seen in it is flanked by frames of chlorite, chiselled in the richest style, the softness and fine grain of the stone adding considerably to the finished appearance of the work. The architrave over it with the figures of the nine planets (*navagraha*) is particularly rich. In marked contrast to this ornamentation the interior is left perfectly bare and the four pillars which support the roof have on them no moulding or carving of any kind. The roof of this building, as also that of the Porch, is double, i. e., formed of a flat celling supported on iron beams and over it a pyramidal structure formed of overlapping stones, the weight of which rests mainly on the sidewalls. This building was originally a part of the Temple of the Sun at Koṇārak, and thence was bodily transferred to this place by the Marhattas in the middle of the last century. The transfer was effected with great care and skill and in the adjustment of its different parts no trace is visible of the structure having been erected and then dismantled and again set up. Looking to the vast mass of sculptured ornaments never intended to be moved about, and carved *in situ,* the task was of extreme difficulty but it was most successfully executed.

Inscriptions. For a place so sacred and so intimately connected with the religion of the great mass of the Hindu population of India for well nigh seven centuries—one visited by hundreds of thousands every year and endowed by the riches of the land from time to time—the number of inscriptions to be found in it is exceedingly small. None of the minor temples has any inscription and the great temple itself shows very little of any consequence. The stanza giving the date of the erection of the temple (*ante*, p. [110]) is said to be inscribed on the back of the throne of the sacred images, but the place was so dark that with the aid of an oil-lamp at midday I could not see it ; and the priest who gave me the stanza would not or could not show it. I would have taken it to be apochryphal but I found it quoted in a book of my great-grandfather who visited the place in the last century and wrote it down in his diary. This, however, only proves that the stanza is an old one but not that it was taken from an inscription. The only authentic inscriptions which I have seen occur on the jambs of the doorway leading to the Audience Chamber. These are in the Uriya language and character, written in the most corrupt orthography and syntax, and so faulty in construction that ordinarily-educated Uriyas can scarcely make out their meaning. Three of these are due to Pratāpa Kapileśvara Deva, the same prince who in Dr. Hunter's work appears under the name of Pratāpa Narsiṃha (A. D. 1307 to 1327). One of them was recorded in the month of Vaiśākha after the completion of the 4th year of his reign to attest the appointment of certain persons as ministers, invoking the curse of Jagannātha on those who would dismiss them. A second is dated Sunday, the new-moon of Vaiśākha, on the completion of the 19th year of his reign, in which he bestows some land on a minister. The third is dated Thursday, the 13th of Kākarā (Cancer—July), after the completion of the 21st year of his reign and confirms certain grants to Jagannātha and others. None of these is of any interest but the last enables us to correct the *Temple Records* as regards the period of the king's reign. His reign had extended to the 22nd year and did not terminate on the 20th year as there stated. The next inscription is an edict of Pratāparudra Deva who on Wednesday, the 10th of the month of Cancer (Kākarā—July, 1509) after the completion of fourth year of his reign, ordained on inspiration derived from a dream that the pastorals of Jayadeva should be recited twice a day before the great god[53], once in the morning, and again after the full-dress exhibition in the evening. There are two others, but their facsimiles brought by me are illegible.

Translations of the legible records is appended to the end of this book.

Jagannatha, his audience and miracles. All the four outer gates of the sacred enclosure are left open till a late hour at night but the rule is that except in the case of special permits granted by the Khurdā Rājā, pilgrims should enter by the eastern gate, turn to the left in the inner enclosure, circumambulate the great temple once, thrice, or even seven times, generally thrice, and then enter the Dancing Hall by the North. Proceeding thence to the Audience Chamber, and standing in front of a log of sandal-wood which cuts off further approach, they behold the Lord of the Universe in the sanctum in front. Persons paying largely are allowed to cross the bar and enter the sanctum. Persons having special permits—which cost from Rs. 5,00 to 5,000—enter by the southern gate and have the right of getting the inner enclosure cleared of all other visitors for the time they stay in it. They of course have the right of entering the sanctum. The sanctum is so dark that without the aid of a lamp nothing is visible within it even at midday. Going thrice round the temple at noon with the sun glaring on the white-washed houses all round and devoting the greater part of the time in looking upwards towards the cornice and the tops of the temples and other erections to which the attention is constantly drawn by the cicerones, the eyes of the pilgrims get so dazed that it is impossible immediately after to see anything placed in a very dark corner; and under the best of circumstances the poor pilgrims standing before the sandal-wood bar see very little. Even those who get beyond the bar cannot see much at first or until their pupils adjust themselves to the light. The priests attribute this to the effect of sin which renders carnal eyes unfit to behold the divinity. When that sin is destroyed by devotion the divinity becomes visible.

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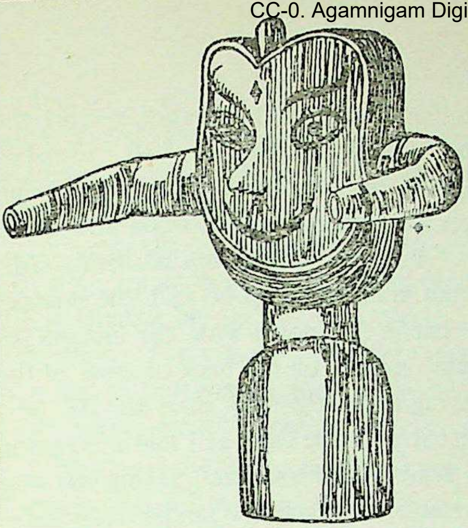
[53] Hunter, 'Orissa', ii, p. 188.

An amusing anecdote is generally related of this miracle. The late Rājā Sukhamaya Rāya of Calcutta was noted for his thrifty habits and lax morality ; he stood at the temple-door, but could see nothing and was reminded of his sins. He returned to his lodgings, prayed all day and night, promised to make amends by defraying the cost of a metalled road from Cuttack to Puri and of rest-houses and dispensaries at Puri, Cuttack, Yājapur and Bālāsore, and the next day, entering the temple without the circumambulation, which he had already performed the day before, he beheld the divinity in all his glory. The Rājā kept his promise and the present high road to Puri from Cuttack, a distance of over fifty miles, and the rest-houses and hospitals at the several places named bear witness thereof. They cost him several lacs of rupees. I visited the temple at 1 P. M. and going round it once entered the temple ; but with the effect of the bright light without, and the glare of a lamp held before my face, I could see very little of the images even when standing in the middle of the sanctum. I did not, however, say anything of my failing sight but asked one of the priests to take me by the hand and enable me to perform the circumambulation of the throne of the divinity. I went round the throne thrice, keeping my eyes completely closed, and this sufficed either to wash off my sins or to take off the contraction of my pupils and I saw with the aid of the lamp held away from me the images as well as possible. A shrewd priest whom I afterwards talked on the subject admitted that he and others of his fraternity were well aware of the miracle, often appealed to, being due to the sudden transition from light to darkness.

Another miracle, constantly dinned into the ears of the faithful is that the roar of the sea which is distinctly audible at a distance of five miles is never permitted to enter the precincts of the sacred enclosure, though it stands well within a mile of the sea. Close by the Sun Pillar the roar is loud and distinct but within the enclosure it is not audible ; and this is attributed to the mandate of the divinity. The roar was so loud that it frightened the gentle lady Subhadrā and in very fear her hands shrank and contracted within her body. Her brother thereupon forbade the sea to send its roar within the temple. A more natural and simple solution of the miracle, however, is offered by the fact that the high walls round the enclosure intercept the waves of the sound and the din of the crowd within—the courtyard is at visiting times always densely crowded—drown whatever sounds come over them. Between 3 and 4 P. M., when there were no visitors and I was engaged in surveying the area, I and my companions heard the roar quite distinctly, though it did not strike me to be nearly so loud as it is outside the enclosure.

Images of Jagannatha and his companions. Owing to the excessive darkness of the sanctum and the absence of the necessary apparatus for producing artificial light, I could not obtain a photograph of the images. Nor would such a picture, had I got one, would have proved of any use, as the images are variously dressed at differnt times of the day and their true shape cannot be taken at any time. This is, however, not to be regretted, for the better class of pictures sold in the market at Puri and so well known to the public does them no injustice. The images are made of the *nim* wood (*Melia azadiracta*), which is perhaps the best wood available for the purpose in India. It is hard, close-grained, susceptible of high



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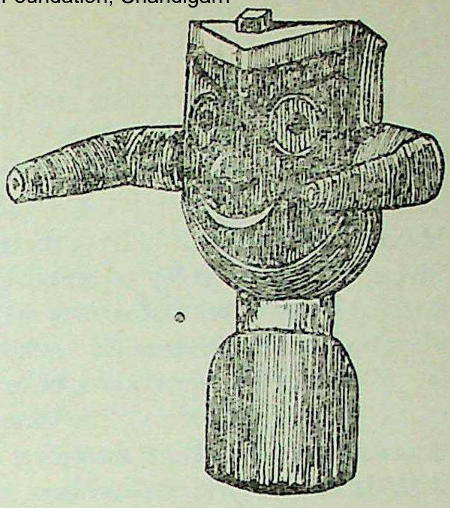

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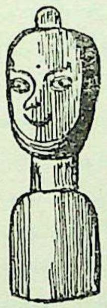

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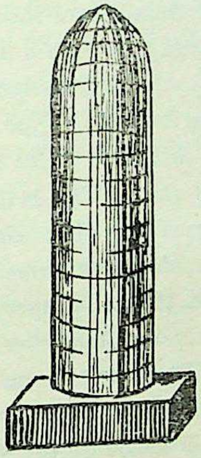

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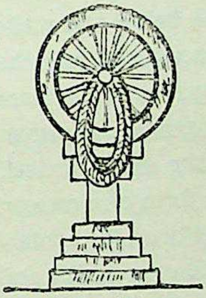

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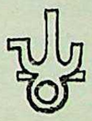

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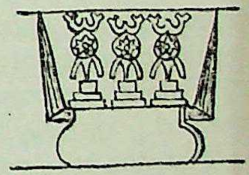

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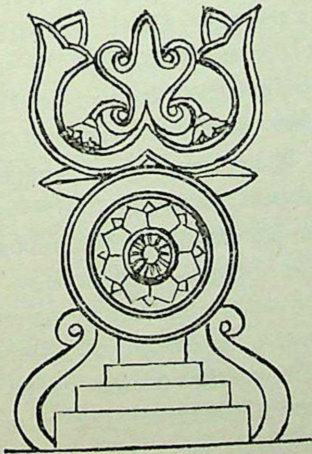

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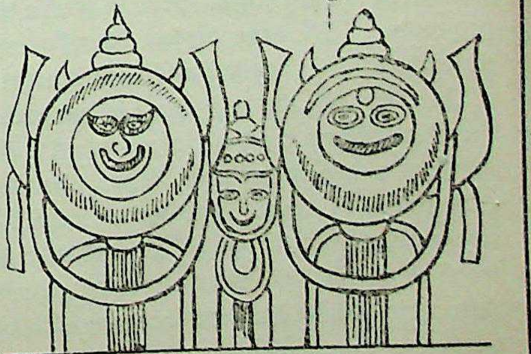

No. 19.

polish and not liable to warp or crack ; while its bitter taste makes it proof against the ravages of worms and insects. It is of a brown colour and when polished and varnished looks very like mahogany. The images are made each of one solid block, the hands being formed of separate pieces. Abul Fazl says the images are made of sandal-wood and other Muhammadan writers have made the same statement. But they were all misinformed. Mr. Stirling was the first **[122]** to point out the mistake, but in correcting it he said 'the mistake must have arisen from confounding the sandal-wood bar in the porch with the images',[54] whereas it was due either to the sandal-wood battens nailed on the back of two of the images to keep their arms *in situ*, or to that wood having been originally used for the purpose of making the statues. The latter appears the most probable case, as I find it stated in the *Vāmadeva Saṃhitā* that the proper wood for the images is the sandal. If this was ever used, the images could not have been made of one solid block each, for sandal trees never grow to such a thickness as to yield blocks of five to six feet in girth.

The *Nilādri-mahodaya*, a local Māhātmya, describes in detail the proportions of the different parts of the images. According to it, the image of Balabhadra should have a total length of 85 *yavas* or barley-corns but the word is so used as to imply a finger's breadth. This would give a total height of six feet. Of this total, 18½ *yavas* are assigned to the lower part, a solid block, rounded in front and on the top, but flat behind. Over this comes the waist which should measure 10½ *yavas* in height and 11 in breadth. The top over this is shaped like an armorial shield, rounded below and scalloped above. This is divided by paint into two parts, one callled hṛdaya or breast and the other the face. The former should be 9 *yavas* in height and the the latter 47 *yavas*. The face is divided into three parts : 1st, the mouth from the chin (indicated by paint only) : 11 *yavas* ; 2nd, the face proper from the mouth to the forehead : 31 *yavas* ; and 3rd, the head or technically the hood (*phaṇā*) : 5 *yavas*. The mouth is indicated by paint in the form of a crescent. The nose is large and very much hooked. The nostrils are indicated by two red spots. The space between the cheeks is hollowed to bring out the nose ; and the eyes, which are oval, placed on the inclined surface, look as if they were obliquely set, the outer corners rising upwards. There is no carving or painting of any kind to indicate the ears. The head is scalloped into two arched forms projecting forward in some fancied resemblance to the hood of a serpent. On the crown of the head there is a rounded knob, rising about four inches ; but this is not included in the details of the Māhātmya. Seen in profile the face has a nearly straight line with two hooked projections. The arms project laterally and horizontally in a line with the mouth and the forearms project forward, ending in stumps without any hands. Near the place of junction of the arms with the body there is, on each side, a knob with a depressed centre to indicate the place whence the body of a serpent is supposed to rise. On ceremonial occasions an image of a serpent is placed there, but it forms no part of the image. The fathom is reckoned at 48 *yavas*. The body is carved out of one block of wood and the arms and forearms are nailed to it. This, however, being a weak contrivance, a batten of sandlewood extending from elbow to elbow, is nailed on the back. The colour of this image is pure white, which has made many Europeans to mistake it for Mahādeva. The stump below is made much larger to prevent the image from tumbling and the other parts have also been altered. The annexed woodcut (No. 11) shows the image as it is now made and divested of all clothing.

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[54] Asiatic Researches, xv. p. 321.

The image of Jagannātha differs from the last in having circular eyes, a straight head-line, a square knob on the head and black colour. Its nose is as large and hooked as that of Balabhadra, but placed on a black ground in a dark room it does not appear quite so prominent. The mouth is crescent-shaped (Woodcut No. 12.). The size is slightly shorter than that of Balabhadra, the total being 84 *yavas*, disposed as follows : Face from head to mouth 34·75, mouth to chin 12, breast 9, waist 10·50, lower part 15·75 *yavas*.

The image of Subhadrā differs from the last two in being of a yellow colour and having a rounded head. Apparently the image has no arms ; but I am told that under its clothing there are two short stumps hanging by the side and closely set against the trunk. I tried to have a sight of these but I could not prevail upon the priests to divest the clothing of a female divinity in the sight of a stranger. I have no reason, however, to doubt the accuracy of my informant, for I find the *Kṣetra-māhātmya* stating distinctly that there **[123]** should be arms on the sides of the boby. The eyes are oval and the nose though markedly retroussé, is not quite as much carved as that of the preceding two (Woodcut No. 13). Its total height is 52 *yavas* ; thus : Face from head to mouth 17, Mouth to chin 5, Chest 3, Waist 12, Below the waist 17 *yavas*.

The *Sudarśana-cakra* is a mere stump, 84 *yavas* long and 21 *yavas* in thickness. The whole of its surface is carved in a check pattern. I could not see anything like a wheel-mark on any part of this staff and to me it appeared as if it were the staff on which, in Buddhist times, a regular wheel was mounted, but which has since somehow disappeared. The priests say that a wheel-mark is stamped on the top of it. (Woodcut No. 14).

As the three images are dressed in a variety of ways several times every day, with turbans of various styles, *cādars*, golden hands and other accessories, and no one can see the images in a nude state, except the priests employed in dressing them, the true chracter of the images cannot readily be known. No amount of dressing, however, can hide their innate deformity. They are exceedingly ugly and the most hideous caricatures of the 'human form divine'. The people feel this much and to account for it usually refer to an accident. When Indradyumna obtained the sacred log brought by the sea, Viśvakarmā, celestial architect, appeared before him and undertook to carve the images on the condition that none should disturb him while he would be engaged in his task, locked up within the temple for a fortnight. Curiosity, however, got the better of prudence and discretion and the chamber was opened before the expiry of the fixed time, when, lo ! the artist had disappeared and the images were left unfinished. None afterwards could venture to finish the work and so the images remain as we have them. This is an adaptation of a Buddhist story which Hiouen Thsang has quoted in his travels to account for the unfinished state of the original statue designed for the great temple at Buddha Gayā. It runs thus :

'When the Vihāra was completed they appealed to accomplished artists to produce an image of Tathāgata, representing him in the attitude in which he was when he was just becoming a Buddha. Months and years passed away in vain for none responded to their call. At last it was a Brahman who came forward and addressed the congregation of the clergy, saying—"I shall produce the marvellous figure of Tathāgata". The clergy said to him : "Now, what do you require to construct the image" ? "Only some aromatic paste", replied he. "Let it be deposited in the centre of the Vihāra, with a lighted lamp for me to work with. When I have entered the place I shall make myself a close prisoner within the door and it should not be opened for a period of six months". The body of the clergy conformed to his orders. When he had thus passed over four months and when consequently the six months had not been completed the clergy were impelled [124] by curiosity and admiration. Having opened the door to see his work they beheld in the middle of the Vihāra the statue of Buddha seated with his arms crossed and in an imposing attitude....This figure appeared affectingly life-like, only the upper part of the left breast had not been completely modelled and polished. But the clergy could not see the artist and this proved that the statue was the result of a divine miracle[55].

It should be noted, however, that the Hindu story is founded on tradition and has not been vouched for by the different Sanskrit works which treat of the subject. The story of carving the sacred log, as given in the *Puruṣottama Māhātmya*, runs thus :—

Indradyumna, having duly worshipped the log which had come floating on the sea from Śvetadvīpa, enquired of the noble sage Nārada : By whom and in what form should the image of Viṣṇu be produced ? Hearing this, the sage of pre-eminent greatness, the noble tutor, replied, saying, 'Who can know the transcendental object of the Divinity ? Even Brahmā the creator of the universe is doubtful of the subject.' While this conversation was getting on, the king and the sage heard a deep sound proceeding from heaven but from no corporeal being ; those who were around them were also astonished at hearing it, but the superhuman Lord was beyond their understanding. The sound exclaimed, 'The great god will secretly descend into the noble temple ; keep the log covered for fifteen days ; when an old carpenter with his implements in hand will appear and enter the temple, carefully close the doors and make a great noise on the outside so as to drown the noise inside, which will otherwise bring on deafness and paralysis. It will also bring on condemnation to hell and the death of children. None should enter the temple nor peep into it. Should other than he who is appointed look in, the king will lose his kingdom and the beholder shall be greatly frightened and be born blind from age to age. Therefore none should look into the temple until the work of making the images is completed. Left alone the god will complete this work, the source of good to all creation and inform you of it'. Hearing this proclamation made by Viṣṇu himself, Nārada and others wished to do as they were directed. Then came there the old carpenter and told the king, 'Whatever you have seen in your dream, the same I shall accomplish with this excellent wood'. Having said this, the old man in the shape of a carpenter, who was no other than Nārāyaṇa himself, descended to lay the faith of men, disappeared in the temple. Then the protector of the earth did as he was directed by the voice. Thus day after day passed on ; a delightful aroma spread everywhere ; the heavenly flower *pārijāta*, so rare among mortals, fell in showers ; the sonnd of sweet music and charmings songs echoed in the ear ; pleasing showers of the water of the celestial Ganges drizzled on earth; wild she-elephants, felt the aroma of the exudation from the temple of noble elephants, an aroma insufferable but beneficial to created beings; the gods came down to perform ceremonies and they were free from all trouble; and seeing that Hari was descending on the earth, the twice-born recited their hymns in praise of Viṣṇu, the same who was Mādhava before. Through the adoration of the gods Viṣṇu assumed his emblems and made himself manifest on the fifteenth day. The god appeared in four forms as before mentioned by me. He appeared, as formerly described to you, seated on a noble throne and accompanied by Balabhadra and Sudarśana. Janārdana appeared, holding the conch-shell, the discus, the mace and the lotus. Baladeva appeared holding the mace, the club, the discus and the lotus ornament; he had earrings and was canopied by the seven hoods of a cobra. Subhadrā, the lovely-faced, was seen holding forth blessings, the lotus and encouragement.

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[55] 'Buddha Gayā', p. 243 f.

This description is not at all in keeping with the reality, but it is accepted by the faithful to mean the figures as we have them. Jagannātha is believed to be Viṣṇu himself in his entirety, the same with Kṛṣṇa; and Balabhadra his *alter ego,* representing Baladeva, the brother of Kṛṣṇa. The third is called Subhadrā, which was the name of Baladeva's sister and popularly the image is said to be that of the sister of the two gods. The *Puruṣottama Māhātmya*, however, denies **[125]** this. It says 'the saying is a mere tradition' unworthy of belief, but that in reality it is that of Lakṣmī, the wife of Viṣṇu and the manifestation of intelligence. In the time of the Kṛṣṇa incarnation she was born in the womb of Rohiṇī and had the appearance of Baladeva, and therefore is she called Subhadrā, his sister. In three or four other places the same opinion is reiterated. Stirling says, she 'is esteemed a form of Devī or Kālī, the female energy of Baladeva', whom he identifies with Mahādeva[56]; but for this statement I have found no authority.

The quotation above given entirely upsets the tradition about the images having been left unfinished on account of an accident. Some Uriyas informed Mr. Stirling that 'the images are shapeless because the Vedas have declared that the deity has no particular form; and that they have received their present grotesque and hideous countenances with the view to terrify men into being good'[57]. But for this statement, too, there is no scriptural authority. It is obvious that the images are not only ugly but that they were not originally designed to represent the image of a man. Even in the most primitive times absolutely untutored men would not have shaped the blocks as they are for human figures. The small stump below could not have been designed for human legs; the narrow waist is not human; and the merging of the head and chest into one piece without any demarcation for the neck is not what our experience of primitive art would lead us to expect. The insertion of the arms in a line with the upper lip is also a kind of error to which even primitive men were not liable to. We must, therefore, look for the genesis of the figures in some other cause. Mr. Paterson was the first to suggest that they were monograms and he supposed them to represent the mystic syllable *Om*. The hypothesis, however, was not tenable, as no similitude could be traced between the images and the mystic *Om* in any of the different characters in which it is written.

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[56] Asiatic Researches, xv, p. 320. [57] Ibid, p. 319.

Bearing in mind the facts stated above (p. [107]) regarding the relation of Jagannātha to Buddhism, the only satisfactory solution of the problems must be looked for in the emblems of the Buddhist religion. And the enquiry instituted under this head by the learned General Cunningham has resulted in the collection of a mass of evidence which leaves no room for any reasonable doubt. The *Sudarśana-cakra* or the discus of Viṣṇu is described in the *Vāmana Purāṇa* to have been given him by Mahādeva for the destruction of the Asuras. The *Padma Purāṇa* does not accept this legend but says it was prepared by Viṣṇu himself with the essence of the sun-god Sūrya. The *Sāmba Purāṇa* attributes it to Viśvakarmā, the celestial architect, smith and mason, who fashioned it with the parings of the sun-god. The first assigns to it twelve spokes, which represented the twelve months of the year, the twelve signs of the Zodiac, and the following twelve : viz., 1 Agni, 2 Sūrya, 3 Mitra, 4 Varuṇa, 5 Prajāpati, 6 Indrāgni, 7 the Viśvedevās, 8 the 12 Prajāpatis, 9 Hanumāna, 10 Dhanvantari, 11 Penance and 12 ascetics. In sculpture the number of radii is not uniform ; sometimes more and sometimes less than 12 are observable. This irregularity also occurs in the Buddhist wheel, and in some cases the radii are so ornamented that they give to the wheel the appearance of the conventional lotus. On the whole, however, the shape of the Sudarśana is the counterpart of the 'Wheel of Law,' the *Dharma-cakra* of the Buddists. In legends it is looked upon as the material representation of the metaphorical expression implying the first preaching of his doctrines by Śākya Siṃha,—'setting the wheel of law in motion'. The wheel necessarily becomes the emblem of religion, and by metonymy Buddha himself, the author of that religion. In Buddhist philosophical works, the wheel, therefore, is looked upon as the symbol of Buddha himself, who had completed the circle of his existence and attained mastery over it. It is consequently the most important symbol in Buddhism and has everywhere met with the highest adoration. In early times, when Buddhism had not stooped to the making of images of Buddha,[58] it formed the most prominent object of worship in the prayer hall, for it appears in bas-reliefs as the central object in the middle of temples with men adoring it. It occurs also as an ornament on caves and buildings and as a distinctive symbol on coins[59]. This cannot be predicated of the discus of Viṣṇu. Nowhere is adoration ordained to be paid to it, or to its fellow emblems, the mace, the lotus and the conch-shell. The importance attached to it at Puri, and the fact of the *Puruṣottama Māhātmya* making it distinct and of equal rank with the other three images, clearly show that it had a Buddhist origin. It stands still on the throne in the sanctuary, but no worship is now paid to it except on certain festive occasions.

And if the *cakra* be accepted as Buddhist, the other figures may, likewise, be assumed to be so. **[126]** The researches of General Cunningham have, however, obviated the necessity of any assumption. The most prominent symbol on the Sāñchi gateway is a form which, divested of its ornamental flourishes, may be resolved into the five ancient Pali letters *y, r, l, v, n*. According to the *Pūjā Khaṇḍa* of the Nepalese Buddhists, the first of these letters is the *vīja* or seed, that is, the source of air, and the Hindu Tantras accept it to be the same. The second letter stands for the *vīja* of fire, i. e. *agni* both in the Buddhist and the Hindu Tantras. The third, similarly, is the representative of water. The fourth of the earth and the fifth of ether. *Pūjā Khaṇḍa* adds a sixth, *s*, which, it says, is the representative of the mount Sumeru, which in effect is the same with the opinion of a Tantra quoted in Raja Sir Radhakanta Deva's *Śabdakalpadruma*, in which it is described to be the Vīja of the earth (*jagadvīja*). Putting these letters together, in the form of a monogram, General Cunningham arrives at the figure shown in the woodcut No. 16.

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[58] 'Buddha Gayā', p. 128.

[59] Cunningham, 'Bhilsā Topes', p. 353.

The making of monograms was a common practice in India, and the union of *a, u* and *m* in the Hindu sacred and mystic *Om* is a notable instance of it of the most ancient times. The *Vīja mantras* of the different gods and goddesses are also no other than monograms; and the om, hṛṃ kṛṃ, hum of the Buddhist and the Tantric ages can be accounted for in no other way. The assumption, therefore, founded on the closest resemblance of the letters with the monogram is by no means unwarrantable. The use of the monogram is quite as extensive in Buddhist art as that of the wheel[60]. It is the symbol of Dharma, the second member of the Buddhist Trinity. This member is Concrete Nature, or matter, and the five letters are the names of the five elements which constitute that nature. The union of the Concrete Nature with Buddha constitutes Saṅgha, the third member of the Trinity, and the wheel and the monogram are usually joined together to represent the Trinity. Buddhist philosophers are not of one mind as to the exact relation of the two elements of the Trinity. The materialists exalt Dharma to the highest place, and make Buddha or spirit, subordinate, while the spiritualists raise spirit over matter. Accordingly we find the wheel sometimes placed above the monogram and sometimes below it[61]. In either case the result is the same—the union of *Buddha* and *Dharma* forming the *Saṅgha*. On one of the Sāñchi gateways the wheel appears below the monogram and three such united figures occur in a line as shown in woodcut No. 17. On another the united symbol is highly developed and its different lines are so curved and turned as to give them high artistic finish and two such figures are placed one on each side of a wheel symbol, also richly ornamented. A figure of this developed form is shown in the woodcut No. 18, and by comparing it with the figures of Jagannātha, Balarāma and Subhadrā as given in woodcut No. 19, it will be seen that the latter differs from the former in having eyes and mouths painted on them and a cloth thrown over the arms. Remove the cloth and the painted eyes and mouths, and the difference between them and the Buddhist symbol will be found to be slight indeed. The woodcut No. 19 has been copied from Gen. Cunningham's figures published in his *Bhilsā Topes*; but it does not give a true picture of the images. The figures prepared by me (woodcut Nos. 11-14) are more faithful, and the faces of Jagannātha and Balarāma in them bear even a closer representation to the monogram. They differ, however, in one important particular. While in the former the hands are uplifted, and therefore they closely resemble the two lateral arms of the letter *y*, in the latter the hands are stretched forward, and can, therefore, bear no relation to those members. But I believe the original Buddhist emblem was partly carved and partly painted and the uplifted limbs of the latter were indicated by paint, and the paint having been rubbed off, the face now includes the whole of the **[127]** monogram. If it be borne in mind, moreover, that the figures have been renewed a great number of times under Hindu dominancy during the last fourteen hundred years, it would be easy to conceive that originally the figures were exact counterparts of the symbol and that the differences, slight as they are, are due to subsequent Brahmanic influences. As already described, (p. [109]) the figures were so intimately associated with the veneration of the people that Yayāti found it expedient to adopt them in their entirety and only slight changes have since been surreptitiously introduced from time to time, but never in such a way as to alter their general character.

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[60] Ibid, p. 356.

[61] Ibid, plate xxxii.

Opinion differs greatly as to the time when the images are renewed. Some say that the renewal takes place every twelve years ; others make the interval twenty-seven years ; others extend it to fifty or a hundred years. A common idea is that they are renewed whenever worn out or decayed. This, however, cannot be ; for heavy logs of the hard *nim* wood of which they are made cannot suffer any decay in a short period and had decay been the only cause for renewal the interval must have been reckoned by centuries. The fact is, the renewal is regulated partly by astrological calculations and partly by local prejudices. The time best adapted is when two new-moons occur in the month of Āṣāḍa, or, in other words, when that month becomes an intercallary one ; this happens after very irregular intervals, ranging from seven to thirty years, and consequently the renewal is not effected at any fixed time. Moreover, the belief is that the Rājā in whose reign a renewal takes place dies soon after and consequently the renewal is often replaced by a thorough scraping and painting (Sringaphiṭā). When the renewal has been effected the old figures are deprieved of something very holy and secret which is contained in them and then buried at midnight in the north-west corner of the outer enclosure, the sacred something being introduced into the middle of the new figures. A great mystery is made about the article transferred. Some say it is a fragment of the old image ; others that it is a bit of the original wood that came floating on the sea ; others that it is a piece of one of the bones of Kṛṣṇa. Babu Brajakishore Ghose is very circumstantial in his description ; he says 'a boy from a Puttus family is selected to take out from the breast of the old idol a small box containing quicksilver, said to be the spirit, which he conveys inside the new. The boy who does this, is always removed from the world before the end of the year[62]'. This statement, however, is not more reliable than the others. The fact is, the object is the mystery of mysteries in Orissa and the chief priests who alone know what it is, will not disclose it to the profane vulgar. When hard-pressed they say something or other to escape the importunity of an influential man, but obviously not the truth, nor the same story to all. What the article truly is I could not ascertain ; but that it is a relic—and that a Buddhist one—I have no reason to doubt. Apart from this renewal of the images at long intervals, the rule is to renew their painting every year. This takes place immediately after the Bathing Festival, and fifteen days are devoted to it, that being the interval between the Bathing and the Car Festival. On such occasion only the old painting is scraped off, but not the ground-work formed of birch bark, pasted in layers on the wooden statues, nor the body colour put thereon.

The throne on which the images are placed is of stone—a platform four feet high and sixteen feet long. It is called the *Ratnavedi* or 'jewelled alter' ; but it is totally devoid of ornament. The images are arranged in a line, the Sudarśana at the extreme left, then Jagannātha, then Subhadrā, and lastly Balabhadra. In front of them there are several metal images, among which that of Lakhṣmī is the most prominent. The last is about sixteen inches high and made of gold. Close by it is an image of the goddess of the earth, Bhūdevī, made of silver. The other images are of brass or of an alloy of the eight principal metals in which brass predominates. The principal images are never moved from their places, except on the occasions of the Bathing and the Car Festivals, and when they are renewed.

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[62] 'History of Pooree', p. 18.

The images appear under very different garbs at different times of the day and on ceremonial occasions, so that they do not appear the same to visitors coming at different times. Each dress is called a *Bhūyi* or *Veśa*, and to make the *Bhūyi* is significant : the heads, the hands and the bodies of the images are so enveloped in cloth and other accessories that their appearance is completely changed. The first *Bhūyi* at dawn is the simplest. It is put on when the divinities are supposed to rise from their beds, and is called *Maṅgalārati-veśa*. Then comes the *Avakāśa-veśa*, or dishabille, or leisure-hour dress, in which the divinities pass a good part of the morning. It is replaced by the *Prahara-veśa* or the afternoon dress. The next is *Candanalāgi-veśa*, or that which the divinities put on when they smear themselves with sandal-paste. The most important in the eyes of the faithful is the Baḍa-śṛṅgāra-veśa or court dress, which is put on soon after dusk, immediately after the *Sandhyā-dhūpa* or vesper meal. Of occasional dresses, the *Buddha-veśa* or the garb of Buddha is significant, as suggestive of the relation of Jagannātha to Buddha. This dress is put on certain days in the month of April. **[128]** In the *Dāmodara-veśa* Jagannātha is dressed like a child, and then tied to a post by a rope round his waist. This is emblematic of an incidence in the life of Kṛṣṇa, who, when a little boy, had stolen curds from a neighbour's house and his mother had tied him up to a post by way of punishment. The *Pābandi-veśa* or tying by the feet is a representation of another incidence of the same kind. In the *Vāmana-veśa*, put on in the month of Bhādra, the god appears as a dwarf holding a big umbrella to typify the dwarf incarnation of Viṣṇu. The other incarnations are also represented. Immediately after the Bathing Festival the god is provided with a trunk and made to represent Gaṇeśa, whence the name of the dress *Gaṇeśa-veśa*.

Daily Service. The daily round of ritual observances in honour of the Lord of the Universe is very much the same with what obtains in the Great Tower of Bhuvaneśvara. The day begins with the rousing of the divinities from their sleep and the oblations and offerings follow closely in the order described on pages [76] and [77], terminating at 11 P. M. with the offering of bedsteads and a request to the divine images to retire for rest. The details are very much the same in the two places, differing only in the ritual *mantras*, which are necessarily different. The food offerings prescribed are all brought into the sanctuary and placed before the throne ; but the quantities so brought at times are small. At the four principal meals,—viz : 1) the Sakāla dhūpa or breakfast ; 2) the Dviprahara Dhūpa or dinner ; 3) the Sandhyā Dhūpa or luncheon ; and 4) the Baḍaśṛṅgār bhoga or supper,—very large quantities of dressed food are prepared, and these are laid out in the Refectory and the doors being thrown open, the divinities enjoy the sight of them from their throne, even as they do with reference to what are brought within the sanctuary. The special offerings of devotees are also all placed in the Refectory, not in the sanctuary, except in the case of offerings made by the Rājā of Khurdā, which are all taken to the immediate presence of the divinities. One special offering of the Rājā is called Gopāl-vallabha, a sweetmeat prepared in the palace of the Rājā at Puri and sent in daily. Like the rest of the offerings it is, after consecration, sold to pilgrims, and the price credited to the Rājā's private account. The quantity of food daily dressed is large ; on festive occasions enormous. At the Car Festival enough is cooked to suffice for the consumption of a hundred thousand pilgrims and considerable profit is made by its sale. Except the Gopāla-vallabha, all the articles of food brought within the sanctuary are afterwards appropriated by the officiating priests, but those which are served in the Refectory are sold to the credit of the temple fund. The time devoted to each of the four meals is one hour and during that period the gates of the inner enclosure are closed ; and every meal is concluded with music, singing and dancing in the Dancing Hall.

The cooks employed in dressing the food are called Sawārs which is a corruption of the word Śavara or wild hunter. They now claim to be the descendants of the fowler Viśvavasu, who worshipped the original god Nīlamādhava. But the sanctity attached to the food prepared by these—the lowest of low caste people—and offered to the divinities is immense. It is called Mahāprasād and esteemed the holiest of the holy in the universe, and the highest gods are blessed if they can partake of it. A single particle of it is sufficient to wash off the moral taint of the greatest crimes that created beings can commit. The murder of parents, spiritual guides and Brahmans, the slaughter of cows, the theft of gold, and of divine images, all become innocuous the moment the guilty person reverently puts a grain of the sacred Mahāprasād on his tongue. On the other hand there is no crime so heinous as that of treating it disrespectfully. It should be eaten the moment it is got without any discrimination of time, place or circumstances. Lakṣhmī herself is said to superintend the dressing of the food and to taste it before it is served ; and when once placed before the images it can never be defild, not even when it has fallen out of the mouth of a dog, much less the touch of low caste people. The local Māhātmyas are replete with stories illustrating its merits. One of the Purāṇas gives a story showing how Śiva and his wife fell out because the former had forgotten to give share of the holy food to the latter. Mr. Hunter remarks: 'Woe to him who denies the efficacy of the Mahāprasād, the Great Offering ! A hundred tales among the people warn priestly arrogance of the wrath of a despised god. There came a proud man from Northern India, who swore that he would look upon the Lord of the world, but that he would eat no leavings of mortal or immortal beings. But as he crossed the bridge outside the sacred city his arms and legs fell off and there he lay on the roadside for two months, till a dog came out of the town eating a fragment of the holy food and dropped some as he passed. The proud man crawled forward on his stomach and grubbing with his mouth in the mire, ate the leavings, all slavered from the jaws of the unclean animal. Thereupon the mercy of the good lord Jagannātha visited him : new limbs were given to him and he entered the holy city as a humble disciple'[63]. Hundreds of such instances may be easily multiplied ; but they are not wanted. Suffice it to say that, notwithstanding the strong prejudice of the Hindus against eating rice dressed by other than their own caste men, not only is the rice Mahāprasād eaten from the hands of the **[129]** lowest castes—not excepting Candāls—at Puri, but it is dried and carried to all parts of India for consumption and at the periodical śrāddhas of Vaiṣṇavas a grain of this holy rice is invariably put on the funeral cake as the most sacred article that can be offered to the manes.

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[63] 'Orissa' i, p. 86.

Festivals. No system of religion designed for the community at large can prosper without festivals. A dull routine of everyday life soon begins to pall—to blunt the edge of enthusiasm—and festivals are the whetstones which take that bluntness away. They serve as whips to lash flagging devotion into ardent zeal. The laity can be held together, not by daily prayers and routine formulae, but by frequently-recurring festivals in which men, women and children may join for the sake of mirth, gaiety and entertainment, with which religion is blended for their benefit. The character of the festivals may vary with reference to the intellectual condition of the people for whom they are intended ; but in every system of religion which recognises festivals—and there is none that does not—there is an attempt to bend, to descend from the lofty chair of the solemn and the venerable, to take the lower orders of the people by the hand and to make them partake of the solace of religion sweetened with the honey of entertainment. They serve not only to keep alive the hold of religion on the masses and to familiarise them with its history, but also to ensure a steady income to the exchequer of the clergy. The necessity for them is so absolute that even the atheistical Buddhists could not forego the opportunities for them ; and in our own times there is not a sect, whether Deistic, Theistic, Atheistic or Positivist, which has not its festive gathering of some kind or other.

Periodical festivals arise either from astronomical causes or from a desire to perpetuate the memory of some notable event in the history of a particular religion. The former are universal ; the latter local and particular. Adverting to the former, Wilson, in his excellent paper on the *Religious Festivals of the Hindus*, says, 'The universal festivals, which are probably traceable among all nations elevated above barbarism and which may have been handed down by tradition from the earliest periods in the history of the human race, are manifestly astronomical, and are intended to commemorate the revolutions of the planets, the alterations of the seasons, and the recurrence of cyclical intervals of longer and shorter durations'[64]. In either case they rapidly give a strong hold on the mind of the masses, and, once established, they hold on with great tenacity and defy the attempt of reformers and the influence of changes in the forms of religion. Hence it is that they turn up under the most untoward and unexpected circumstances. This is specially the case with the festivals celebrated in honour of Jagannātha, and among them we have some that are universal, others particular, and a great many traditional, which have been handed down by its priests. Following Uriya calendar beginning with the month of Agrahāyaṇa, (November-December) the first festival or Yātrā occurs on the 6th of the waxing moon and is the same with the Prāvaraṇotsava of Bhuvaneśvara (*ante*, p. [78]). At Puri it is called :

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[64] Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, ix, p. 62.

1. *Ghornāgi*, or the warm-clothing festival, when the images are dressed in shawls and other thick and costly raiments. It is not an anniversary, nor is it held in much estimation. In Bengal the day is called *Aruṇa ṣaṣṭhī*, the 6th of the sun-god, and some women observe it as a day of fast for the welfare of their sons.

2. *Abhiṣeka*. The second festival is the counterpart of the *Puṣya Yātrā* of Bhuvaneśvara (p. [78]) and the rituals are very much the same. Images of wood painted with oil colours do not, however, admit of so frequent bathing without injury as amorphous blocks of stone do, and the 108 pitchers of water from the Vindu Sāgara tank of Bhuvaneśvara have, therefore, to be dispensed with at Puri and the bathing reduced to an emblematical ritual, the setting off of the images in royal robes and rich ornaments forming the most prominent feature of the ceremonial. The day is sacred as the anniversary of Jagannātha's coronation. In Bengal it is observed by an extra worship of Viṣṇu. One of the Smṛtis, the *Yātrā Tattva* of Raghunandana, reckons it among the 12 Yātrās of Viṣṇu. Fifteen days earlier, the preceding full-moon 'is the anniversary of Buddha's visit to Ceylon and the beginning of the Tibetan new year,' but the subsequent full-moon is celebrated as a day of festival by the Buddhist Vaiṣṇavas of Paṇḍhārpur.

3. *Makara*. The third is the counterpart of the *Makara Saṃkrānti* of Bhuvaneśvara (p. [78]) and is observed in the same way, omitting the bathing. It is a universal festival among Indo-Aryans and marks the time when the Sun enters the sign Capricornus, or the return of the Sun from the south,—'the cessation of the winter and the return of general rays of the solar luminary'. It is a time for cake and rejoicing, for friendly greetings and interchange of presents or mementos ; and whether we view it in Christmas cakes and plum-puddings, 'a happy Christmas and a Merry New Year' in England, the Strenœ of the Romans, the New Year's gifts of the French (Etrennes), or the rice-cakes of the Bengalee, it is the same everywhere, modified by external and adventitious circumstances, but not the less a manifestation of the feeling'[65].

[130] 4. *Dola Yātrā*, or Holi. Next to the Car and the Bathing Festivals this is the most important festival at Puri and draws from thirty to forty thousand pilgrims from all parts of India. According to the Vaiṣṇavite Purāṇas it was the anniversary of a great feat of heroism which Kṛṣṇa performed by destroying a she-demon variously named Śaṅkha-cūḍa, Hori, Holi, Holā, Holākā, Meḍhā and Dhūṇḍhā. The most probable supposition, however, is that it was designed to celebrate the return of spring,—'to typify the general influence of spring upon both the animate and inanimate creation and to express the feelings spread by the season and the delight which the revival of nature diffused'[66]. It has been ever so among the Aryans. The *Festum stultorun*, the *Matronalia Festa*, the *Lupercalia Festa*, in which young men in perfect nudity, run about the streets on the ides of March, the feast of Bacchus, the pūjā of Anna Perennā, the Abbot of Unreason, the Carnival, the Passover and the day of All-Fools are all modifications of the same festivals of which Holi is the leading type in India.

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[65] Professor Wilson has dialated on this subject in the paper above quoted and the curious reader will find in it much to interest him.

[66] J. R. A. S., ix, p. 105.

The manner in which it was celebrated in Germany at one time is thus described by Joannes Boemus Aubanus : 'The whole of Germany eats and drinks and gives itself up to jokes and sports, as if there was not another day to live, and people wear disguises and masks or stain their faces and vestures with red and black paint, or run about naked like the Luperci, from whom, I think, this annual exhibition of insanity has descended to us'[67]. If we omit the nudity of which Holi players are never guilty and change the word Germany into India the description would exactly fit in for Holi. Naogerogus, in his description of the Carnival, is even more precise and I cannot resist the temptation to quote the following verses from his writings by way of illustration. No one who has seen the Holi celebrated in India can mistake the life-like exactitude of the picture given.

Then old and young are both as much as guests of Bacchus' feast ;
And four days long they tipple, square, and feede, and never rest.
.........feare and shame away ;
The tongue is set at libertie, and hath no kind of stay.
All thinges are lawfull then and done, no pleasure passed by,
That in their minds they can devise, as if they then should die.

... ...

Some naked run about the streets, their faces hid alone
With visars close, that so disguised they may of none be knowne.

... ...

No matron olde, nor sober man can freely by them come[68].

In India the festival dates from Vedic times. There was then celebrated by the people a vernal feast of which jokes and jibes and hilarity and extravagance formed the most prominent characteristics. As, however, in the North-Western frontier of India where the Vedic people lived, spring did not come until late, the time for it was the full-moon of Caitra or a month later. In Bengal with early Spring this would not do and so the feast had to be removed a month back and it falls now on the full-moon of Phālguṇa[69]. Rejoicings for the return of genial weather were its chief objects and singing, music, joking and feasting were its principal components. Swinging seated on a cradle is a favourite amusement of Indian females. There is scarcely a respectable and comfortable homestead, Hindu or Muhammadan, in Northern India where there is not a swing for the recreation of the ladies ; and, as women in olden times freely mixed with men in all public rejoicings, swings were found important elements in the paraphernalia of public feasts ; and to this day three festivals—the Dola, the Phula Dola and the Jhulana—are every year celebrated to mark the partiality of the people for that recreation. Forty years ago, there was not a good garden in the suburbs of Calcutta which had not its swing and only lately English influence has set it aside. In the North-West, however, it still retains its hold. A special Mode or tune was devised for singing, dancing and swinging, and to this day it bears the name of Hiṇḍolā, or the swinging tune. Fun and frolic in primitive times, moreover, often took the form of practical jokes and the throwing of red powder (*holi, phalgu* or *ābir*) on friends, was the form in which the jokes seemed to have been indulged. Thus the characteristics of the Dola Yātrā are the swing and the red powder and the feast is often called 'the feast of red powder'.

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[67] Ibid, p, 106, [68] Ibid, p. 107.

[69] The Vedic fast still maintains its ground in the north-west, where it is dedicated to the god of love, Kāmadeva : it begins on Madana Trayodaśī or the thirteenth of the waxing moon.

At Puri there was formerly a special place kept on the southeast of the Great Temple outside the sacred enclosure for this festival ; and the images were taken there to enjoy their carnival. In the reign of Gauḍīya Govinda Deva (A. D. 1560) the swinging-frame broke down and one of the hands of Jagannātha was injured ; the practice of bringing out the images was thereupon given up. In fact the images were found too big to be safely allowed the indulgence of the swing and their colour was sadly injured by being besmeared with the red powder. It was deemed expedient, therefore, that the **[131]** ceremony should be performed by proxy. The place of its celebration was also changed ; the place selected was the northeast corner of the outer enclosure of the temple and outside its area. There a large well-raised masonry platform was built and on the centre of it were erected two stone pillars with an arched cross-piece, and from this is suspended a chair hung by chains, and on the chair are seated the images of Madanamohana and Lakṣmī and swung from time to time amidst the rejoicings of the multitude. The red powder (*ābir*) is largely thrown on them and every one in the assembled crowd indulges in throwing the powder on his neighbours. The other rituals of the ceremony are observed before Jagannātha himself in the sanctuary. The ceremony here lasts for a single day. On the night preceding, in Bengal and in North-Western Provinces, the demon Holākā is burnt in effigy in a bonfire[70] but this is not observed at Puri.

5. *Rāma-navamī*. The 9th of the waxing moon in the month of Caitra was the birthday of Rāma and the memory of the auspicious event is preserved by celebrating the day by a festival. On this occasion Jagannātha, who is believed to be a later incarnation of the same personage, is dressed as Rāma and worshiped as such.

6. *Damana-bhañjika Yātrā*, or *Daoṇā cori*. This festival is celebrated by proxy as at Bhubaneśvara, (p. [79]) and very much in the same way. The proxy at Puri is Modanamohana, an image made of eight metals and the locale of the theft is the monastery of Jagannātha-vallabha. It is an anniversary of the destruction of a demon named Damanaka.

7. *Candana Yātrā*. The same festival which has been described on page [79]. It is the counterpart of the *Florialia* of the Romans and of the *Maypole* of modern Europe. It is a *festi* of flowers. Flowers are scattered everywhere ; flowers are pelted at neighbours

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[70] A curious analogue of this festival exists on the shores of the Hellespont and Mr. William Simpson, in his 'Schliemannic Ilium', describes it thus : 'At the village of Kolifath, all the people collected in the church shortly after midnight, on the morning of Easter Sunday. Men, women and children were there with lighted candles and at first the ceremony began in the porch, where the priest was reading the service from a book placed on a temporary desk The men were firing guns and pistols and in an open space in front of the church an immense pile of brush-wood had been collected ; this was set fire to, and it blazed away rapidly, a dark object appeared in the middle of the mass of flame. It proved to be a cross with a figure upon it, and this figure was Judas Iscariot'. (Frazer's Magazine, xvi, 15). With the priest seated, this would be an exact description of the burning of the Holākā.

and friends ; and swings, fans and ornaments are made of flowers and scented with sandal-paste. The heat of the weather at the time is against its being celebrated in a boisterous way and therefore no great enthusiasm is evinced on the occasion. At Puri, as at Bhuvaneśvara, the festival is celebrated by proxies, the proxies being Madanamohana and four small *liṅgams,* and the locale the Narendra Tank. There is a small island in the middle of that tank and a temple on it, where the proxies are accommodated for 21 days, from the 3rd of the waxing moon in Baiśākha and every afternoon and night taken out and cruised about, Madanamohana in one boat, and the *liṅgams* in another, amidst a profusion of flowers, dances, singing, music and a great concourse of people.

8. *Rukmiṇī-haraṇa ekādaśī.* The anniversary of Rukmiṇī's elopement with Kṛṣṇa. The Lady was the daughter of Bhīṣmaka, king of Berar (ancient Vidarbha). She had been betrothed by her brother Rukman to Śiśupāla, king of Cedi ; but she loved Kṛṣṇa, and, under the pretence of going to worship in a neighbouring temple, ran away with him on the day preceding that which was fixed for her marriage. The festival is observed on the 11th of the waxing moon in the month of Jyaiṣṭha. Madanamohana, as proxy, goes forth in the afternoon to a neighbouring garden to abduct the lady ; and bringing her to the temple enclosure at night marries her under the sacred Bar tree (Plate LI, No. 9).

9. *Snāna Yātrā*, or the Bathing Festival. It is celebrated four days after the last, that is, on the 15th of the waxing moon in the month of Jyaiṣṭha. This is the anniversary of the day when the first image was taken in hand for Indradyumna, or the day when the divinity descended on earth. The images on this occasion are brought to the bathing platform on the north-east corner of the outer enclosure (plate LI, No. 56), bathed at midday with a great profusion of water brought from a well in the neighbourhood of the sacred Bar tree, sumptuously dressed and decorated with a probocis made of light-wood (*solā*) and worshipped with *mantras* especially designed for the occasion. Dr. Hunter states that the bathing takes place in one of the large tanks near the temple and Mr. Mansbach fixes its locale in the Audience Chamber ; but they were misinformed.

After this bath the images are removed to one of the side-rooms of the porch where they are kept for a fortnight. The room is called *Āndur Ghar,* or sick-chamber, and the divinities are said to be laid up with fever in consequence of their unusual bath. Then they can grant no audience to the public nor partake of their usual meals, so the outer doors of the temple are closed and all cooking stopped. The real object of the ceremony is to wash off the accumulated dust and soot of the year, for in a closed room with large oil lamps burning day and night, a great deal of soot settles on the images, notwithstanding the daily wiping, and also to re-paint them. These operations are accomplished during the fifteen days of the so-called fever and the obvious impropriety of allowing the public to see the figures devoid of their paint, suggests the necessity of closing **[132]** the doors. This is also the time when the images are renewed when occasion for it arises. On the fourteenth day the eyes of the images are painted and this is reckoned a distinct festival, that of Netrotsava.

10. *Ratha Yātrā* or the Car Festival. After the re-painting and varnishing it is but natural that the first opportunity should be taken to exhibit the images publicly for the gratification of the faithful and this is done on the second day of the waxing moon in the month

of Āṣāḍha (June-July) by placing the images in open cars and taking them out for an airing in a grand procession along the main street on the town. Three cars are provided for the purpose. The first of these intended for Jagannātha, according to the *Puruṣottama Māhātmya*, should be 32 cubits high, provided with sixteen iron wheels, each having 16 spokes, four pavilions at the four corners, a central throne having four openings, decorated with numerous wooden images and rich clothing and surmounted by an image of Garuḍa. This is called Cakradhvaja or Nandighoṣa. The second, for Subhadrā, should have twelve wheels, each of 12 spokes, and the lotus for its crest. It is called Padmadhvaja. The third, for Balabhadra, should have fourteen wheels of 14 spokes each and having the monkey god (Hanumāna) for its crest. It is named Thaladhvaja. These directions are now fairly observed, excepting the iron wheels, for which they have wooden wheels. The proportions at present followed are : height for the 1st 45, for the 2nd 43 and for the 3rd 44 feet. The diameter of the wheels for the 1st 7 ft., for the 2nd 6 ft. and for the 3rd 6 ft. 6 in. The size of the platform is for the 1st 35, for the 2nd 33 and for the 3rd 34 feet square. The housings are of broadcloth of different colours set off with spangles and the awnings and hangings of rich brocaded silk. Altogether the vehicles have a very imposing appearance.

The images are brought to the car in the afternoon, not by the priests as stated by Stirling[71], but by a set of aboriginal men called Daityas or barbarians, to which class this office has belonged from time immemorial, it being believed that they are the descendants of the fowler Viśvāvasu. The small one is brought on the shoulders of the carriers and the other two dragged each by a silken rope tied to the waist, the priests holding the images so as to prevent their falling flat on the ground. The use of the silken rope, it is said, was introduced by Pratāpa Narasiṃha Deva. An inclined plane is used to lift the images on the cars and this duty is also performed by the Daityas. When the images have been seated on their thrones in their respective cars, they are richly dressed and ornamented for the occasion and provided with golden hands and feet. After this the Rājā of Khurdā comes in a large procession, with led horses, elephants, palankins and other paraphernalia. When about a hundred yards in front of the foremost car, he descends from his vehicle and walks barefoot, and, as the hereditary sweeper of the temple, sweeps the ground before the cars with a jewelled broom and worships the images in due form with flowers and incense. Then descending from the last car he successively holds the cables attached to the three cars and emblematically drags them, the actual operation of dragging being afterwards performed by a body of 4,200 coolies, called Kālābetiyās, who enjoy rent-free lands in the neighbouring villages for this service. They are largely assisted by the immense concourse of pilgrims, every one of whom longs to have the supreme felicity of dragging the cars and thereby rend asunder the bonds of sin for ever and many of whom do gratify their desire. The progress of the cars is thus described by Mr. Stirling : 'The joy and shouts of the crowd on their first movements, the creaking sound of the wheels as these ponderous machines roll along, the clatter of hundreds of harsh-sounding instruments and the general appearance of so immense a mass of human beings, produce, it must be acknowledged an astounding and somewhat picturesque effect, whilst the novelty of the scene lasts, though the contemplation of it cannot fail of exciting the strongest sensations of pain and disgust in the mind of every Christian spectator'[72]. Notwithstanding, however, the large number of men employed—owing to want of proper supervision—the cars move very slowly and three to four afternoons are devoted to carry them a distance of two miles to a garden and a suite of temples at the other end of the great highway. Originally when the highway was cut across by a Nālā, called Balāguṇḍi, towards the northern end two sets of cars were prepared, one for each side of the Nālā. The Nālā was filled up by that great patron of Public Works in Orissa, Keśarī Narasiṃha (1282-1307) who, according to some, caused the Āṭhāranālā bridge to be built. On the arrival of the cars at the gate on the fourth night, the goddess Lakṣmī is carried in a grand procession from the temple to the car, where she pays a visit to her Lord. This day is called *Harapañcamī* and reckons as a special feast.

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[71] Asiatic Researches, xv, p. 329.

[133] The gods remain in the summer-house for four or five days and on the 10th of the moon begin their return journey (Bāhurā), coming out by the Vijayadvāra. The journey is not completed until the 14th or the 15th day. The slowness of the return journey is caused by the paucity of pilgrims, most of whom leave Puri immediately after the first procession, and the road being generally rendered difficult by heavy rains which set in about that time. On the day the cars arive before the Great Temple, Lakṣmī is brought out from her mansion and placed in a pavilion (Plate LI, No. 58) on the road-side to welcome her lord and escort him home. When the cars arrive at the Lion Gate, a rite is performed on the cars to celebrate the return and the 're-conquest of the Blue Hill', whence its name Nīlādri-vijaya. This over, the Daityas carry the images to their sancturary in the same way in which they bring them out. After placing them on their throne certain lustrations are performed by the priests to remove the defilement to which they are subjected while in the car by the touch of people of all classes and castes who drag the vehicles.

This is the ceremony which has made the name of Jagannātha a by-word in the English language and associated it with everything that is odious and detestable. It is this which has made Jagannātha, in the eyes of some Europeans, 'India's greatest monster of iniquity', 'the mighty Pagoda or Pagod, the mirror of all wickedness and idolatry'. It is this which made a Calcutta Reviewer exclaim—'There you may picture to yourself Christianity shuddering ; there morality weeping. Momus is not to be found there—the god of mirth has slunk away trembling ; as for intellect she slumbers in silence, awaiting the dawn of a better day'[73]. But from what has been said above, it will be obvious to the unprejudiced reader that, however puerile may be the idea of giving the godhead an evening airing in a car, there is nothing iniquitous, cruel or sanguinary in the ceremony. That in dragging such ill-constructed unwieldy cars amidst dense masses of men, women and children excited to the utmost by religious enthusiasm, accidents do, and did, happen, is not to be denied. There have been self-sacrifices too. But neither the one nor the other can be attributed to Jagannātha, as an inseparable or inherent part of his cult, nor it is so frequent as in any way to justify the denunciations. Three hundred years ago Abul Fazl, a keen observer and, if anything, hostile critic, noticed nothing of the kind. A century later, Bernier, who indulges in a great deal of perfervid eloquence on the subject, did not certainly find the instances of self-immolation by any means too numerous. He says, 'There elapses not a year, but some of those poor miserable pilgrims, who come from a distance, weary and fatigued, are suffocated to death ; everybody conferring their benedictions on their having been so fotunate as to have died on so holy an occasion. And when this car of infernal triumph is in motion, (believe me, this is no fiction) there are persons so besotted with false hopes and superstitious notions, as to prostrate themselves on the ground under its large and huge wheels, which crush them to death'[74]. Mr. Stirling, in 1822 wrote : 'During four years that I have witnessed the ceremony, three cases only of this revolting species of immolation have occurred, one of which I may observe, is doubtful, and should probably be ascribed to accident ; in the other two instances the victims had long been suffering from some excruciating complaints and chose this method of ridding themselves of the burthen of life, in preference to other modes of suicide so prevalent with the lower orders under similar circumstances'[75]. Mr. Mansbach, who was at Puri for some years, has copied this, unfortunately without acknowledgment, and added, 'that excess of fanaticism which is stated in several Missionary accounts to prompt pilgrims to court death by throwing themselves in crowds under the wheels of the car of Jagannātha has never existed, or has long ceased to actuate the present worshippers of that idol'[76]. Mr. Fergusson visited Puri in 1838, and at the Car Festival found so little to excite his horror that he scouted the idea of the traditional enormity. He said :

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[72] Loc. cit.

[73] Lawrie, 'Orissa, the Garden of Superstition and Idolatry', p 47.

'So much has been written about the horrors of this festival—of the hundreds of dead and dying pilgrims that strew the road, and of their bones that whiten the plains—and of the victims that throw themselves under the wheels of the car,—that I was most agreeably disappointed to find the pilgrims hurrying to the spot, talking and laughing like people going to a fair in England, which in fact it is. There were fanatics measuring the road with their length, and others rolling along, and devotees doing absurd things of all sorts, but not more than one sees in every town in India ; and as for victims, none had been heard of for many years before that time. Many threw themselves down before the cars, it is true, but a kick or a slap from those who were standing by started them long before the wheels came near, amidst the laughter and shouts of derision of the people. Nor were the bones more plentiful than the victims. I looked out everywhere for a pilgrim's skull to examine his bump of veneration, and keep it as curiosity if I found it large, but neither skulls nor bones were to be found anywhere that I could see. Still the authorities are so respectable, that it is but charitable to believe that a different state of things did once exist, and if the Missionaries and talkers of the India House have their own way, **[134]** probably will return ; they have clamoured till they got the pilgrim-tax and Government interference done away with and the consequence was, that eight victims were sacrificed the very first year after the abolition ; not willing victims, but, it is said, by a mistake, getting entangled among the wheels ; probably forced there by the priests, that their god might again have a sacrifice'[77].

Dr. Hunter, in his admirable work on Orissa, has discussed this subjeet at some length and has come to the conclusion that the charge against Jagannâtha is totally unfounded and grossly calumnious. And as his evidence, as that of a Christian gentleman and careful and critical observer, is likely to command in Eurpore greater respect, than what I can adduce from native sources, I shall quote it entire. He says : 'In a closely packed eager throng of a hundred thousand men and women, many of them unaccustomed to exposure and hard labour, and all of them tugging and straining to the utmost under the blazing tropical sun, deaths must occasionally occur. There have doubtless been instances of pilgrims throwing themselves under the wheels in a frenzy of religious excitement. But such instances have always been rare and are now unknown. At one time several unhappy people were killed or injured every year, but they were almost invariably cases of accidental trampling. The few suicides that did occur were for the most part cases of diseased and miserable objects, who took this means to put themselves out of pain. The official returns now place this beyond doubt. Indeed, nothing could be more opposed to the spirit of Viṣṇu worship than self-immolation. Accidental death within the temple renders the whole place unclean. The ritual suddenly stops and the polluted offerings are hurried away from the sight of the offended god. According to Caitanya, the apostle of Jagannātha, the destruction of the least of God's creatures was a sin against the Creator. Self-immolation he would have regarded with horror. The copious religious literature of his sect frequently describes the Car Festival, but makes no mention of self-sacrifice, nor does it contain any passage that could be twisted into a sanction for it. Abul Fazl, the keen Musalman observer, is equally silent, although from the context it is almost certain that, had he heard of the practices, he would have mentioned it. So far from encouraging self-immolation, the gentle doctrines of Jagannātha tended to check the once universal cutsom of widow-buring. Even before the Government put a stop to it, our officials observed its comparative infrequency at Puri. It is expressly discountenanced in the writings of the Vaiṣṇavite reformers and is stigmatized by a celebrated disciple as "the fruitless union of beauty with a corpse"[78].

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[74] 'Travels', Stuart's translation, p. 6.

[75] Asiatic Researches, xv, p. 324.

[76] Transactions, R. A. S. iii, p. 256.

[77] Fergusson, 'Picturesque Illustrations of Ancient Architecture in Hinduism', p. 26.

It is scarcely likely that those who calumniate Jagannâtha will change front and dropping the charge of direct participation accuse the lord of Puri of abetment, of disseminating a religion which promotes or leads to self-immolation. Such a charge if tolerated would lead to the stoppage of even the most innocent amusements of the people in every part of the world and suggest the propriety of closing the River Thames, in the bed of which many a person expiates his or her pecuniary difficulties. Every form of religion—every festival which recognises public processions—abets the offence in some form or other. A car festival which was common in Sicily twenty years ago—and for aught we know still prevails—does this in a manner positively reprehensible. While at Puri grown up people labouring under incurable and excessively painful diseases, such as colic and leprosy, attempt to terminate their sufferings by falling under the sacred car, in Sicily innocent babes are exposed to suffering and death for the mere purpose of decoration and scenic effect. Madame Henrietta Caraciolo, on whose authority we make the statement, thus describes the Feast of Assumption as annually celebrated on August 15 and of which a car procession forms the most prominent part :

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[78] Hunter, 'Orissa', p. 133-4.

'A colossal car is dragged by a long team of buffaloes through the irregular and ill-paved streets. Upon this are erected a great variety of objects, such as the sun, moon and principal planets, set in rotatory motion, and diminishing proportionably in size as they approach the summit of the structure.

'This erection is in itself really imposing; sumptuously decorated and put in movement in honour of her who gave birth to the God of Charity. But its functions recall to mind the famed car of Juggernauth, or the nefarious hecatombs of the Druids. The heart sickens at sight of it and it is difficult to refrain from crying shame upon the horrible barbarity; for bound to the rays of sun and moon, to the circles forming the spheres of the various planets, are infants yet unweaned, whose mothers, for the gain of a few ducats, thus expose their offspring, to represent the cherub escort which is supposed to accompany the Virgin to heaven.

'When this huge machine has made its jolting round, these helpless creatures, guiltless of every reproach but that of being the offspring of brutal mothers, having been wheeled round and round for a period of seven hours, are taken down from this fatal machine, already dead or dying. Then ensues a scene impossible to describe—the mothers struggling with each other, screaming and trampling each other down. It not being possible, on account of the number, for each mother to recognise **[135]** her own child among the survivors, one disputes with the other the identity of her infant amid a storm of imprecations and the lamentations of the more afflicted, joined to the deafening derision of the spectators and the hooting of the mob. Numbers are thus changed in the confusion. The less fortunate mothers, as they receive the dead bodies of their infants, often already cold, rend the air with their fictitious lamentations, but consoled with the certainty that Maria, enamoured of her child, has taken it with her to Paradise'[79].

Comment on this passage would be redundant.

The origin of the Car Festival is of greater interest to the antiquarian. In none of the ancient rituals is there any mention made of such a festival. In Vedic times there were no images and consequently no car was required for their use. In later days when images were brought into requisition as accessories to devotion or object of worship, the idea of giving such images an airing in a car every now and then did not strike any of the law-givers. It is only in medieval works that references are met with regarding the institution of the festival, but even to this day none of the Hindu divinities has a car, except Jagannātha and his representatives, as also the Jain saints Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra[80]. The question, therefore, naturally suggests itself: did the Hindus of Puri borrow it from the Jains, or the Buddhists, and from them the people of other parts of India? The late Rev. J. Stevenson of Bombay was the first to take up this question, and the conclusions, he arrived at were thus given in a paper entitled, 'On the intermixture of Buddhism with Brahmanism, in the religion of the Hindus of the Dekkan': 'The Ratha Jātrā, just immediately preceding the Śayāna Ekadaśī, or season of sacred rest, is probably the remains of a triumphal entry, with which the sages were welcomed on returning from their peregrinations to hold the Wasso'[81]. His arguments for this conclusion were, the absence of caste rules, the former : prevalence of Buddhism at Puri and the belief in a relic, a bone of Kṛṣṇa, in the image of Jagannātha.

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[79] Memoirs of Henrietta Caraciolo, p 21 f.

[80] In some of the Tantras a car has been enjoined for Durgā, but they are the most modern works of their class, and the indications in them of imitation of the Vaiṣṇava ritual are obvious.

The subject was next taken up by Mr. J. W. Laidlay in 1848. When translating into English M. M. Remusat, Klaproth and Landresse's French version of the *Fbe Koue Ki* he noticed a passage which have a very vivid description of a car festival which the Buddhists celebrated in Khotan. It runs thus : 'On the first day of the fourth moon (i. e., on the 1st of Āṣāḍha), they sweep and water all the streets of the town and they adorn and set in order the roads and the squares. They spread tapestry and hangings before the gate of the city. All is ornamented and magnificently arranged. The king, the queen and many elegant ladies are stationed at this place. The monks of *Kiu ma ti*, being those devoted to the study of the *great translation,* are most honoured by the king, and take, therefore, the lead in the Procession of Images. At the distance of three or four *li* from the town is constructed a four-wheeled car for the Images, about three *toises* (about 30 feet in height) in the form of a movable pavilion, adorned with the seven precious things, with hangings and curtains and coverlets of silk. The Image is placed in the middle ; on either side are two Phousa (Bodhisattva) ; while around and behind are the images of the gods. All are carved in silver and in gold, with precious stones suspended in the air. When the Image is one hundred paces from the gate, the king despoils him of his diadem, dresses in new garments, and, advancing barefoot, and holding in his hands perfumes and flowers, issues from the town, accompanied by his retinue to march in front of the Image. He prostrates himself at its feet, and adores it, scattering flowers and burning incense. At the moment when the Image enters the town, the ladies and the young damsels in the pavilion above the gate, scatter from all sides a profusion of every variety of flowers, so that the car is completely concealed with them'[82]. The pilgrim noticed a similar festival at Patna at nearly the same time of the year, i.e., on the eighth day of the fourth moon of the month of Āṣāḍha, which in the Court Almanac of Pekin is called 'the holy birthday of Buddha'. Regarding it he says, 'every year in celebration of the eighth day of the moon Mao[83], they prepare four-wheeled cars on which they erect bamboo stages, supported by spears, so that they form a pillar two *chang* high, having the appearance of a tower. They cover it with a carpet of white felt, upon which they place the images of all the celestial divinities, which they decorate with gold and silver and coloured glass. Above they spread an awning of embroidered work ; at the four corners are little chapels, having each a Buddha seated, with Bodhisattvas standing beside him. There may be about twenty cars, all differing from each other in their ornament and importance. On this day all the streets are thronged with the assembled population. Theartical representations are exhibited, gymnastic sports and concerts of music'[84]. Commenting on the first of these two passages, Mr. Laidlay says, 'The reader cannot fail to be struck with the very close resemblance betwixt the Buddha procession here described **[136]** and that of Jagannātha, of which indeed it requires no great stretch of the imagination to suppose it to be the model and prototype. The time of the year at which the ceremony took place, corresponds very closely ... ... with that of the Ratha Jātrā and the duration of the festival was about the same. The principal image with its supporters on either hand seems the very counterpart of Jagannātha, Balarāma and Subhadrā ; and when we further bear in mind that the famous temple at Puri is supposed to stand on the site of an ancient Buddhist Caitya ; that the annual festival is accompanied by that singular anomaly, the *suspension of all caste* for the time being' ; (the suspension is permanent and not for the time the ceremony lasts) 'and lastly, that the image contains the *supposed relics* of Kṛṣṇa,—a feature entirely abhorrent from Hinduism, but eminently characteristic of Buddhism,—I think we can scarcely doubt that the procession of Jagannātha had its origin in the observances of the latter faith'[85]. In his notes on the second passage he adds, 'in the ordinary native pictures of the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, the ninth *avatāra*, (Bauddha avatāra) is represented by a figure of Jagannātha. I have failed to ascertain from pandits any explanation of this. In the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Viṣṇu is represented as becoming incarnate in the person of Buddha, for purposes of illusion ; a convenient artifice of the Brahmans to dispose of all difficulties attending the popularly admitted supernatural character of Śākya ; but this does not explain the circumstance of Jagannātha being regarded as typifying the Bauddha avatāra. The circumstance would seem to indicate an under-current of popular tradition which had survived the changes of national religion and all the efforts of the priesthood to suppress it'[86].

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[81] Journal R. A. S., vii, pp. 1-8.

[82] 'The Pilgrimage of Fa Hian', pp. 17 f. The Rev. S. Beal's version, given in his 'Travels of Buddhist Pilgrims', p. 10, is more accurate, and in same details different from the French translation ; but the description of the car is substantially the same, and does not affect the argument in the least : I quote here the old reading as Mr. Laidlay's arguments are founded on it.

[83] The fourth month according to Remusat, but the second according to Mr. Beal's version,

The most salient points of similitude are the month of the ceremony, the form of the car, the four pavilions, the style of its decoration, the three images, the adoration by the king, the duration of the festival and the welcome on return. The dates are different ; the Khotan date is the 1st, the Patna date the 8th, and the Puri date, now recognised all over India, the 2nd ; but dependent as Hindu ceremonial dates are on astronomico-astrological calculations, the difference is perfectly immaterial. Many dates of unquestionably ancient Hindu rites have of late similarly changed without any alteration in the rituals. The number of cars in the Buddhist instances was single, and the three images were put in the same car, whereas at Puri there are three cars. This, however, is also immaterial as in the present day all over India, except at Puri, a single car is the rule and three the exception. Apparently the enormous size of the images at Puri suggested the necessity of three cars. The wheels in different parts of Bengal vary from 4 to 32, and the 16, though enjoined in the *Puruṣottama Māhātmya*, are not held to be essential. The differences in the minor details are likewise immaterial as they are obviously due to local circumstances which affect ceremonials in every part of the world. Even in the Vedic days, the followers of the different

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[84] Laidlay, 'Fa Hian', p. 255. [85] Ibid, p. 21. [86] Ibid, p. 261.

Śākhās could not agree to follow implicitly the same rules and tribal differences were recognised without in any way changing the character of the rituals.

The question, however, may be raised : are the similitudes such as necessarily to lead to the conclusion aimed at ? The most remarkable coincidence is the month ; but it might be quite accidental. The cars must be cars wherever fashioned, and, even as Hindu temples are similar to Buddhist temples, and yet the Images for whom they are intended are different, so the cars may be alike, and yet the festival may be different and in its origin quite independent of each other. Human nature is essentially the same everywhere and must under most circumstances manifest itself in very much the same way without any actual copying. Bearing this in mind I would not be satisfied that the Car Festival of Jagannātha was for certain a survival of the Procession of Images of the Buddhists, from the mere fact of their being similar. But the facts noticed in different parts of this essay all tend towards a different conclusion. The history of Puri (p.[107]) leaves no doubt in one's mind of its once having been an important seat of Buddhism. The similitude of the images of Jagannātha, Balarāma and Subhadrā with the threefold Buddhist symbol (p.[126]) is such as cannot be accounted for except on the supposition of their being the same. The belief in the existence of some relic in the image of Jagannātha (p.[127]) suggests a purely Buddhist origin. The total suspension of caste rules (p.[128]) is, likewise, unquestionably due to other than Hindu faith. The belief that Jagannātha is no other than the Buddha incarnation of Viṣṇu, though not avowed in any Hindu work, is pretty current all over Orissa and Bengal ; and hundreds of thousands of pictures of the ten *avatāras* are annually sold in which Jagannātha is painted in the place of Buddha. Most of the pictures, painted on cloth, are produced in Puri itself, within three hundred yards of the sacred temple, and sold to the pious pilgrims who travel over hundreds of miles under the most trying circumstances, in the most inclement of seasons and carry them home as mementos of the Lord of the world. In Bengal it is the custom for every pilgrim returning from Puri, to send one of these pictures and a few grains of the dried cooked rice Mahāprasāda to his friends and relatives ; and so each pilgrim, according to his means, distributes from half a dozen to scores of them. In Calcutta large engravings of the ten *avatāras* are sold by thousands and in every one of them the place of Buddha is occupied by Jagannātha. And these facts leave no room for doubt that Jagannātha and some of his peculiar ceremonial observances are of Buddhist origin ; that the Car Festival marks the anniversary of Buddha's **[137]** birthday ; that the heterodox ceremonies were adapted by the Hindu revivalists to prevent the masses, who were attached to them, from resenting innovations ; and that they have since maintained the prestige with which antiquity, tradition and custom invest all ceremonial and festive observances.

11. *Śayana Ekādaśī*. This takes place on the eleventh of the waxing moon in the month of Āṣāḍha. It is obviously an astronomical festival connected with the summer-solstice ; but in local legends it marks the day when Viṣṇu falls into his four months' slumber and is identically the same ceremony which has been described on page [79] except that it begins three days earlier, i. e., on the eleventh instead of the fourteenth, and the images put to bed are, insted of Śiva and Pārvatī, the two brothers and sister, Jagannātha, Balarāma, and Subhadrā, represented by small effigies in gold and silver. The place selected

is a corner of the great temple. There, at midnight, on a bedstead properly furnished, the effigies are placed with due ceremony and invocations and allowed to sleep for four months.

12. *Jhulana Yātrā.* This festival commences on the eleventh of the waxing moon in Śrāvaṇa and lasts for five days, terminating on the night of the full-moon. On this occasion a swing is hung in the Mukti Maṇḍapa, profusely embellished with flowers, flags and hangings ; and Madanamohana, as the proxy of Jagannātha, is every night placed in the swing and entertained with singing, dancing and music. The festival obtains all over Northern India, and is held in considerable estimation.

13. *Janmāṣṭamī,* or *Janam.* The eighth of the wane following. It is the anniversary of the birthday of Kṛṣṇa at Mathurā. The ritual is the same as in Bengal ; but special eclat is given to the ceremony by always making one of the dancing-girls attached to the temple enact the part of the mother, and a priest that of the father. Commenting on this ceremony, Dr. Hunter observes, 'The indecent rites that have crept into Vaiṣṇavism, and which, according to the spirit of the worshipper, are either high religious mysteries or simple obscenities, are represented by the Birth Festival, in which a priest takes the part of the father and a dancing-girl that of a mother of Jagannātha, and the ceremony of his nativity is performed to the life'[87]. In reality, however, there is neither any obscenity nor any mystery in the rite. The story runs that Devakī, immediately after her accouchement, had fallen asleep, and during her sleep, her husband Vāsudeva had carried away the new-born babe from the prison cell where it was born to the abode of Yaśodā on the other side of the Yamunā, and thence had brought a new-born female child which he placed by the side of his sleeping wife. This incident is dramatised by the dancing-girl and the priest, and in so far it is simply enacting a scene very much like what was done in the passion plays of Medieval Europe. However stupid or puerile it may be, obscenity or mystery finds no part in the exhibition and no impropriety whatever suggests itself to those who behold it.

At first sight the only objectionable feature of the ceremony appears to be the employment of a dancing-girl to take a part in a religious rite ; but inasmuch as the girl so employed is not a public prostitute, but one of a body specially dedicated to the service of temple, and bound by solemn pledges to lead a life of celibacy and purity, the offensive character is entirely removed. There are two sets of women so employed ; one is called Naṭi or dancing-girl, whose business is to dance and sing in the Dancing Hall ; and the other Bhitargāonī or the singers in the sanctum. Both are selected at an early age and as soon as they attain the age of puberty, formally married to the divinity of the temple, to which they remain attached ever after. In rare cases grown-up women betake themselves to the service of the temple and a notable instance of it is offered by Mīrā Bāī, daughter of Sūrya Rāṇā of Jeypur, who devoted herself to the service of Rangchoḍjī[88]. Avowedly under no circumstance is a public prostitute allowed to enter the temple enclosure and Dr. Hunter justly complains that such a distinction should be permitted in the house of the god of all classes and castes[89]. It would not be fair, therefore, to draw inferences from the use of the English word 'dancing-girl' which the facts of the case do not justify. The so-called dancing-girls occupy, in fact, very much the same position which the Vestal virgins of the ancient Roman temples did and their character does not differ from that of their ancient European sisterhood. Bernier, by no means a fair critic, affords a notable proof of this fact. He says, 'I have observed certain of these women, no less celebrated for their beauty than for their modest demeanour, not only reject with scorn splendid presents from different Mahomedans and Christians, also from Gentoo strangers, as if they were exclusively devoted to the Devtā, or the temple of the idol and its ministers, the Brahmans'[90]. Great care is taken in the selection of the person who is to enact the part of the mother of the god. She is not taken promiscuously from the body of the dancing-girls, but a particular woman is especially selected and appointed to attend to this duty only. She belongs to the class Bhitargāonī, has rent free lands for this service and is understood to lead a chaste life. Occasionally she sings in the inner temple, but never with the crowd in the Dancing Hall. It is undeniable that neither this selected one, nor the bulk of the two classes invariably lead an irreproachable life. Nature prevails over human institutions and frailty is, for ought we know, as common among them as was the case among the Vestal virgins ; but certainly not more so than what obtains among actresses and ballet **[138]** girls in modern Europe. Anyhow, the theory is that they ennoble themselves by renouncing the world and betaking themselves to the service of the temple ; and, however fallen they may be in reality, their employment in the temple cannot be more objectionable on account of their private lives than that of priests equally frail.

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[87] Hunter, 'Orissa', i, p. 131 [88] Wilson, 'Hindu Sects', p. 74. [89] Hunter, 'Orissa', i, p. 136.

14. *Pārśva-parivartana Ekādaśī.* The eleventh of the waxing moon in the month of Śrāvaṇa is supposed to be the day when Viṣṇu in his sleep turns to the right side and it is celebrated by a special service, the most important part of which consists in the priests turning on their right sides the metal images placed in bed on their backs on the night of the Śayana. The festival does not excite much enthusiasm and is not celebrated with any great eclat.

15. *Kālīya-damana.* According to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* there dwelt in a bay-pond of the Yamunā near Vṛndāvana a large serpent, called Kālīya or 'the black one'. It was the dread of the whole village and much mischief was caused by it to unwary bathers. Kṛṣṇa, in the course of one of his frolics, killed it, and the memory of this deed is preserved by an anniversary festival on the eleventh of the wane in the month of Śrāvaṇa. The service consists of a procession to the Mārkaṇḍa tank, to which Madanamohana, as the proxy of Jagannātha, is carried, and made to enact emblematically, the destruction of the dragon, amidst music, singing, and a great crowd of visitors. A special ritual is also performed in the temple in the morning and another in the evening, when the body of Jagannātha is twined round with an imitation serpent of black and white cloth wound round a piece of cane. Dr. Hunter takes this to be the anniversary of a victory over the aboriginal Nāgas by the Aryans in their advance towards the centre of India and much may be said in favour of this theory.

16. *Vāmana-janam.* This festival takes place on the eleventh of the waxing moon in Bhādra. In the Hindu calendar it is the day when Viṣṇu in his sleep turns from the right to left side ; but at Puri it is observed as the anniversary of the birth of the 5th, or the

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[90] 'Travels', Stuart's Translation, p. 8.

Dwarf, incarnation of Viṣṇu. The image of Jagannātha, on this occasion, is dressed like a dwarf and provided with an umbrella and an urn, in the same way as the Dwarf incarnation is usually painted and described in the Śāstras.

17. *Kuār Pūnāi.* The full-moon of Āśvina is, in Hindu calendars, dedicated to Lakṣmī, the Indian Ceres, and goddess of fortune, who is worshipped at night, and the night is kept up in gambling. The Uriyas observe this rite and pay their adoration to Lakṣmī in her temple according to the ritual enjoined in the Smṛti ; but in addition to it, they have, during the day, a grand procession in honour of the discus of Viṣṇu, the Sudarśana-cakra, which is carried about in a litter through all the main streets of the town. This procession is nowhere enjoined in the Smṛties, and in it we cannot help noticing the survival of the Buddhist rite of the Procession of the Wheel of Law.

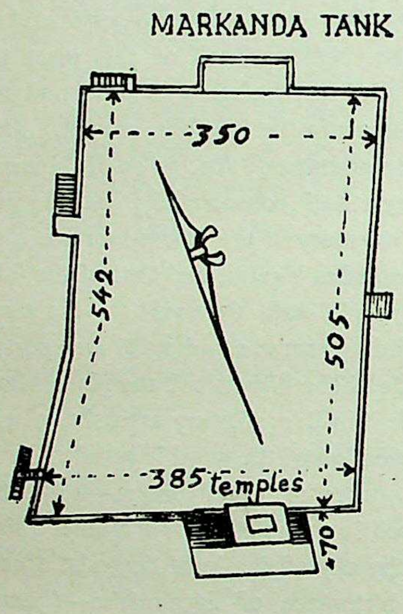
18. *Utthāpana Ekādaśī.* The eleventh of the month of Kārtika is the day on which Viṣṇu wakes from his four months' sleep and the ritual on this occasion is very much the same as that observed at Bhuvaneśvara (*ante*, p.[80]). The metal images are taken out of their bed, bathed, dressed and worshipped in due form.

There are certain other festivals called *upa-yātrās,* but they are held in no great estimation and call for no notice here.

Gundicha Garh : Next to the Great Temple, the most important sanctuary of Jagannātha is the Guṇḍicā summer-house. It is situated, as above stated, at the eastern end of the great highway, the Barādaṇḍ. Its distance from the Great Temple is about two miles. It is called a Gaḍ or 'fort', because a part (430 x 320 feet) of its area is surrounded by a masonry wall, 20 feet high and 5 ft. 2 in. thick ; but it is simply a large garden with a suite of temples and out-offices for the accommodation of Jagannātha and his retinue during their stay on the occasion of Car Festival. Its principal entrance, facing the Barādaṇḍ, had at one time a grand gateway ; but when I saw it, it was out of repairs and very much dilapidated. This gate is called Siṃhadvāra or the Lion Gate and through it Jagannātha enters the premises. Close by it there is a smaller gate which is called Vijayadvāra, Gate of Victory, or Nākconā, and through it Jagannātha is brought out on the occasion of his journey home. The area of the garden outside the wall is covered by large topes of mango and other trees ; but the ground within and around the temple is laid out in flower-beds and altogether has a very cheerful appearance. Right in the middle of the beds there is large masonry terrace, with seats all round, adding considerably to the beauty of the place. The temple and its threefold appurtenances are all of the same age. The temple is 75 feet high with a base of 55 x 46 feet outside, and 36 ft. 8 in. x 27 feet inside. The ceiling from the floor is 16 ft. 7 in. The walls are set off with only a few simple mouldings but no carvings. On the off side of the temple there is a plain, raised seat, 4 feet high and 19 feet long, made of chlorite ; and this is called the Ratnavedī—the throne on which the images are placed when brought to the temple. The porch is a square of 48 ft., divided into a nave and two aisles by four square pillars. The nave is 17 feet broad and the aisles 8 ft. 7 in. each. The walls are 5 feet thick. The ceiling is 16 ft. 8 in. from the floor, and the doorway 11 ft. x 6 ft. 8 in. The Dancing Hall is a rectangle of 48 x 44 feet, divided into a nave and two aisles like the porch. It has three doors on each side, of which the central one measures 11 ft. 3 in. x 9 ft. 7 in., and the side ones 8 ft. 8 in. x 6 ft. 7 in. The Bhoga Mandir of this temple is peculiar. Instead of being a square or nearly so, as in the case everywhere else in Orissa, it is an oblong room, 58 ft. 9 in. x 26 ft. inside, with walls 6 ft. 10 in. thick, and doors, three on each side, 8 ft. 6 in. x 6 ft. 4 in. Beyond the last is a long range of low rooms which are used as kitchen and store-godowns. The place is not used except for four or five days in the year ; but there is a small establishment of servants by whom it is regularly swept every day. and kept clean, tidy and in a good state of repair.

The history of the place, according to the local legends, dated from the time of Indradyumna. Here it was that he pitched his camp when he arrived at Puri. Here he established an image of Nṛsiṃha when he was disappointed in the great object of his journey, that of seeing the Blue God, Nīlamādhava, of the fowler Viśvavasu. Here he performed the great horse-sacrifice a hundred times over. It was in the neighbourhood of this place that the sacred log from the White Island, Śvetadvīpa, stranded on the sandy shore ; and here again, the divine carver produced the *chef d' œuvre* of his art in the fourfold images. Many circumstances are appealed to in corroboration of these statements. An image of Nṛsiṃha, still existing, is alleged to be the same which Indradyumna had consecrated ; but the small temple in which it is located is of modern date. The memory of the horse-sacrifice is still preserved in the name of the place, which is called Aśvamedha Kṣetra, and that of the fabrication of the images in the same way. Up-country people call the visit to the garden Janakapura Yātrā or procession to the father's house, Indradyumna standing *in loco parentis* from the circumstance of his having got the images made. The Uriyas call the place Mausighar or the house of the mother's sister, and its equivalent in Bengali, very extensively used, is Māsīvāḍī, a word of the same meaning. The application of the word is justified by the statement that Guṇḍicā was the name of the principal queen of Indradyumna,—a daughter of a king of the name of of Sāmrājyarāja,—and she stood in the relation of a mother's sister to the god. This statement, however, is not borne out by any of the local legends, though the locality is repeatedly described by them as the birthplace of Jagannātha—(janmapradāyinī). Professor Wilson does not, in his *Sanskrit Dictionary*, give the derivation of the word Guṇḍicā, nor have I found it in any Sanskrit lexicon ; but a friend of mine, Babu Kshirodachandra Raya, Head-master of the Puri School, suggests the idea that it is derived from the local vernacular. In Bengali the word for a thick log is Gunḍi and it is also used in Uriya. In the latter Guṇḍicā is also used in the same sense in compound words, as in the word Guṇḍicā-mūsā, or wood-rat, which is the name of the squirrel. Guṇḍicā, therefore, is the sacred log which was stranded here. All this, however, is intended to give a vari-semblance to a story which is entirely mythical and the enquiry therefore is of no importance.

Minor Sacred Places. Unlike Bhuvaneśvara, Puri is devoid of minor places of architectural or antiquarian importance. The attention of the faithful has been so exclusively engrossed by Jagannātha that little has been done for any other sacred spot. There are, however, a great number of insignificant small temples which enjoy the reputation of considerable sanctity. Among these the most noted are the eight guardian Śambhus. At Bhuvaneśvara Viṣṇu has been made the guardian of a Śivite city, and sectarian bigotry has naturally reversed the order in a Vaiṣṇavite town. Here Viṣṇu reigns supreme, and Śiva and his wife, each in eight forms, serve as warders. The names of the Śambhus are: 1) Mārkaṇḍeśvara, 2) Yajñeśvara, 3) Nīlakaṇṭheśvara, 4) Vilveśvara, 5) Kapālamocana, 6) Bāleśvara, 7) Īśāneśvara, 8) Pātāleśvara. The consort of Śiva, having the generic name of Caṇḍī, appears under the following specific names: 1) Maṅgalā, under the Bar tree, 2) Vimalā, on the west of the Great Temple, 3) Sarvamaṅgalā, 4) Ardhāsanī, 5) Alambā, near the Āṭhāranālā bridge, 6) Dakṣiṇā Kālikā, 7) Marīcikā, 8) Haracaṇḍī. The *Kapila Saṃhitā* gives a list of only seven places which are said to be particularly sacred. These include: 1st, the Svargadvāra on the sea-shore; 2nd, the Mārkaṇḍa Tank; 3rd, Yameśvara Temple; 4th, Alābukeśvara Temple: 5th, Kapālamocana; 6th, Śvetagaṅgā, and 7th, Indradyumna Tank. To these we have to add four others, viz., 8th the Narendra Tank with the Jagannātha-vallabha Temple; 9th, Cakra Tīrtha; 10th, Bāleśvara Temple, and 11th, Lokanātha Temple. But these are all insignificant and worthy of no extended notice.



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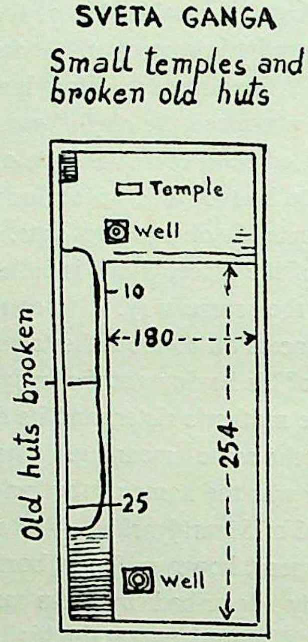

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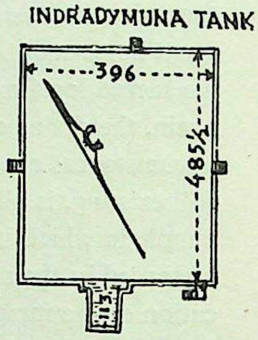


No. 22.

1. The Svargadvāra, or the gateway to heaven, covers about half a mile of the sandy beach towards the south-western corner of the town. It was here that Brahmā descended when he came down with Indradyumna to consecrate his sacred images. There is nothing to mark the spot, but every pilgrim is bound to go there and have a dip in the salt water for the salvation of his soul. It is the open door to heaven and the dip is equivalent to entering the sacred region which lies beyond it. The very sight of it, says the *Kapila Saṃhitā*, effects redemption from the sin of Brahmanicide and ensures more merit than what can be acquired by bathing successively in the Ganges, the Sarasvati and the Godavari **[140]** rivers.

When men are dying such a place would be the most acceptable for an easy transition to the region they long all their life through to attain, and hence it has been selected as the cremation and burying-ground for the dead of the town. The place is not adapted for any masonry building, so there is none to mark its site, except a dilapidated English monument over the grave of Mr. Bushby, once Collector of Puri. On the full-moon of Kārtika people come here in great numbers to bathe and the concourse is said to number at times from thirty to forty thousand persons. Close by this place is a small temple dedicated to Kuvera, the god of wealth.

2. The *Mārkaṇḍa Tank* is situated about 3 furlongs to the north of the Great Templ and is very largely resorted to by pilgrims. It is of an irregular shape and lined throughout with stones. It has several excellent ghāṭs around it and a temple of Śiva on the south side (Woodcut No. 20). It was greatly improved and repaired by the late Rājā Kīrticandra of Burdwan, but it has existed for a long time. The *Kapila Saṃhitā* assigns its origin to Kṛṣṇa, who caused it to be excavated and himself endowed it with its sin-removing quality. Close by the landing of the northern ghāṭ there is a large Indian fig tree (*Ficus indicus*) and under it are ranged eight statues, each four feet high. The figures are executed in a superior style in chlorite and represent four-handed females, seated on thrones, and having each a child on her lap. They represent the eight primitive mothers or matriarchs (Mātṛkās) through whom, according to the Tantras, the creation has been evolved. The *Varāha Purāṇa* takes them to be the personifications of the eight passions, *kāma* &c. The description given of them in the *Viśvakarmā Śāstra* as quoted in the *Vrata Khaṇḍa* of Hemādri's *Catur-varga-cintāmaṇi* does not, however, correspond in every detail with the statues as we find them at Puri and elsewhere. In it the number of hands and heads of the several goddesses is greatly increased and the hands being numerous the implements held by them are also multiplied. The text also differs in not referring to the child on the lap. There is no doubt, however, that the text and the sculptures refer to the same goddesses. The *Mārkaṇḍa Purāṇa* reduces the heads and the hands to what occurs in the sculptures ; but its description is not very precise. The first image is that of Brāhmī, the wife of Brahmā ; she is a handsome woman with four heads like her consort and four hands ; she has for her vehicle a goose, which is shown under the throne, crouching under her feet. The hands are broken. In the *Viśvakarmā Śāstra* she is described as four-headed, six-armed, tawny-coloured, profusely ornamented, having a tiger-skin belt athwart her breast and holding forth in the hands of the right side a thread, a spoon and blessings, and in those of the left side a book, an urn and the sign of encouragement.

The second is Īśānī or Maheśvarī, the wife of Mahādeva, and her vehicle is a crouching bull. The text says, the giver of every blessing should be five-faced, three-eyed, fair-complexioned and six-armed holding on the right side a cord, the sign of blessing and a *damaru*, and on the left a spike, a bell and the sign of encouragement. Her hair should be matted and set off with a crescent moon.

The third is Kaumārī, wife of Kumāra or Kārtika, the god of war. She is a handsome woman with a single face and four arms and having a peacock for her vehicle. She is described to be six-faced, fierce-eyed, red-complexioned and twelve-armed, mounted on a peacock and holding by the right hands, a spear, a flag, a staff, the sign of blessing, a bow and an arrow, and by the left a bow, a bell, a lotus, a fowl, a battle axe and the sign of encouragement.

The fourth is Vaiṣṇavī, wife of Viṣṇu. In sculpture she is one-faced and four-handed, having a Garuḍa at her feet. In the text she is described as a dark-complexioned woman with six arms, mounted on Garuḍa, bedecked with garland of wild flowers and holding by the right hands a lotus, a garland and the sign of blessing, and by the left a conch-shell, the sign of encouragement and a discus.

The fifth is Varāhī, a fat pot-bellied female with the head of a boar, having a buffalo for her vehicle. She holds a fish in one of her hands (Plate XXXIX, A). Her description in the text represents her as a big-bellied black woman with the head of a hog, holding a staff, a scymitar and the sign of blessing by the right hands and a shield, a lasso and the sign of encouragement by the left.

[141] The sixth is Aindrī or Indrānī, the wife of Indra. She is a handsome woman of benign aspect, having four hands and resting her right foot on a crouching elephant, which is her palfrey. She is described as thousand-eyed, bright as gold, benign and mounted on an elephant. She holds a cord, a thunderbolt and the sign of blessing in the right hands and a jar, a patera and the sign of encouragement in the left hands.

The seventh is Cāmuṇḍā, an extremely emaciated female with four hands, seated on a prostrate human being with folded hands. Her hair is dressed in the form of a large many-rayed crown and the only ornament she wears is an anklet. The hands are mutilated and the child on her lap in the Yājapur specimen has been knocked off. The attempt made by the sculptor to indicate the emaciation is remarkably successful, though anatomically the number of the ribs he has assigned her and the location of the veins are wrong (Plate LXI). According to the text she should be lean, red-complexioned, distorted-faced and ten-handed, having a shrunken belly, exposed teeth and deep sunken eyes ; she should be fierce-looking, mounted on a corpse and ornamented with serpents. In her right hands there should be a pestle, an armour, an arrow, an elephant goad, and a sword, and in the left, a shield, a lasso, a bow, a staff and an axe.

The last is Caṇḍikā ; she is very like Indrānī in appearance, differing only in having a bull for her palfrey. According to her description in the Tantras, she is white-complexioned, four-armed, with clotted hair and three round eyes. She should be seated on a corpse and hold in her three right hands a spike, a *karṇikā* flower and the sign of blessing, and in her left a wine cup and the sign of encouragement.

Plutarch mentions the existence in the Sicilian town of Eugyion of a large temple dedicated to certain goddesses. They were Cretan women who nursed Zeus and hid him from his father Cronus. They were rewarded with a place in heaven and were placed among the stars and called the bears. The temple had great possessions. 'Even a little before my time,' says Diodorus, 'the goddesses had three thousand sacred cows and land enough to produce a large income.' Mr. C. H. Tawney, whom I consulted on the subject, is of opinion that 'as the worship of these divinities came from Crete it seems probable that Eugyion was a Cretan colony or received Cretan colonists, as Diodorus says'. These mothers are intended by Goethe in the second part of *Faust.* I have failed, however, to obtain detailed descriptions or drawings of these goddesses, and cannot, therefore, make out how far they resembled their Indian sisters in other than their common names. It is obvious, however, that belief in these divinities dates from a much earlier period than the Tantras in which they are described.

3. *Yameśvara.* To the south of the Great Temple, at a distance of about half a mile, there is a small temple which is said to have been built by Yama, the ruler of the nether regions, but it is poor in appearance and of no interest to the antiquarian.

4. *Alābukeśvara.* To the west of the last is a temple built by Lalāṭendu Keśarī in the middle of the 7th century. It is spoken of in high terms by the *Kapila Saṃhitā* and has the reputation of making barren women fruitful; but architecturally it bears no comparison to the *chef d'œuvre* of that monarch, the Great Tower of Bhuvaneśvara.

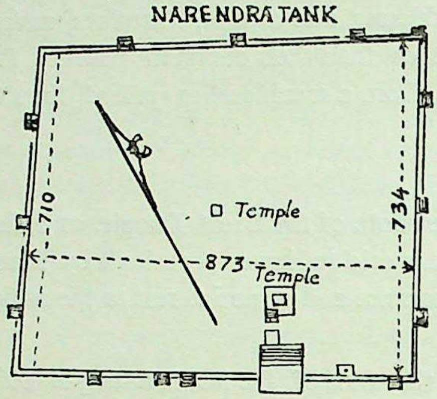
5. *Kapālamocana.* In the immediate neighbourhood of the last is another small temple, which is as insignificant as the last, without its antiquity.

6. *Śvetagaṅgā.* To the west of the Great Temple there is a small tank, quite dry when I saw it, and totally neglected ; but it has the merit of ensuring immediate emancipation not only to the greatest sinners but even to worms. On its bank there are two small temples, one dedicated to Śveta Mādhava and the other to Matsya Mādhava, both forms of Viṣṇu ; and these are noted for high miraculous powers. (Woodcut No. 21).

[142] 7. *Indradyumna Tank.* This tank is situated to the north-east of Guṇḍicāgaḍh and contains excellent water ; but it is not the site of any festivals, nor is it sanctified by the close proximity of any temple. The temple of Nṛsiṃha stands at a little distance and a temple of Nīlamādhava also once existed in its neighbourhood. It is, however, an old tank—old enough to be attributed to Indradyumna, a king of the Satya Yuga. Probably it is due to Yayāti Keśarī, who had assumed the title of second Indradyumna. The *Kapila Saṃhitā* speaks highly of its sin-removing quality. It measures 485 x 396 feet (Woodcut No. 22).

8. *Narendra Tank.* It is the largest tank in Puri and is situated about three quarters of a mile to the north-east of the Great Temple. It dates from the time of Keśarī Narasiṃha Deva, who caused it to be excavated. It has two islands in its middle, each bearing a temple (Woodcut No. 23). This is the place where, during the Candana Yātrā festival, Madanamohana is brought along with four *liṅgams* and kept for 21 days. The tank affords the

locale for the daily cruise the divinity enjoys on the occasion. Adjoining this tank on the west side is the large garden of Jagannātha-vallabha, where Madanamohana come on his thyme-stealing mission in April (p. [131]).



No. 23.

9. *Cakra Tirtha.* The bed of the Balāgaṇḍī Nālā from the Barādaṇḍ to the sea was never properly filled up and may be traced in detached and dirty ditches, which the washermen of the town resort to in large numbers, as, its mouth being blocked up by sand, it contains fresh water fit for their use. A small portion of this bed, looking like an unfinished tank, is held a sacred place, dedicated to the discus (*cakra*) of Viṣṇu, and pilgrims come here to perform the rite of *śrāddha* in honour of the manes of their ancestors. There are a few platforms and the foundations of two temples, but nothing worthy of note. If the remarks made above regarding the Buddhist origin of Jagannātha be tenable, it would not be a great presumption to suppose from its name that we have in this sacred pool some reminiscence of the Buddhist Wheel of Law. Close by it is situated the English burial-ground.

10. *Lokanātha.* The western boundary of the town of Puri is marked by the temple of Lokanātha, which is said to have been established by the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the second epoch of the earth's history. There is nothing, however, in it to indicate this remote antiquity. It is situated at a distance of about two miles from the Great Temple. The place is well-wooded by a number of mango trees and in the midst of the tope there is a masonry terrace lined by huts on two sides, and by a range of small temples on the third, the fourth side being enclosed by a low wall with a gate in the middle. The huts belong to a body of Sannyāsis who look upon this place as their *maṭh.* The largest temple of the group—a plain building of brick and plaster—is occupied by Hara and Pārvatī, and by its side stands the fane of Lokanātha—a temple about 30 feet high, having a door on one side and a window on the opposite side. The doors are usually kept locked and the window is provided with an iron grating through which the pilgrim peeps into the interior, where dwells the Lord of Regions. The divinity, however, is not visible to the multitude, except once in

the year. In the middle of the sanctuary there is a small square vat, fed by a natural fountain and full of water, and in it the divinity remains drowned. The vat is connected by an open tunnel with a tank in its close vicinity, and to it the water of the fountain flows in a tiny streamlet all day and night. On the night of Śivarātri, the 14th of the wane in the month of Māgha, all the water is bailed out and the divinity—an amorphous mass of stone—becomes visible. This is looked upon as a miracle and is the cause of the great sanctity of the place. The place is largely visited and for the entertainment of pilgrims the priests celebrate a great number of festivals, in some of which Pārvatī and her consort are carried about in a four-wheeled chariot drawn by bullocks.

Satyavadi. Ten miles to the north of Puri, there is a small village, named Satyavādī and noted for a temple of great sanctity. It is situated within three hundred yards of the main road and commands a large mart for grain and a small police station. As the last changing station for the Dāk to Puri, the place is also inhabited by a considerable number of *pālkī*-bearers. Judging from the number and condition of the shops I thought the grain trade there was in a flourishing condition.

Close by the mart is situated the temple. It is located in the midst of a large garden, surrounded by a board ditch and well-stocked with fruit trees. Access to the garden is had by a stone bridge of three arches, built in the style of the **[143]** Āṭhāranālā bridge at the entrance to Puri. The temple is about 70 feet high plastered with *chunam* all over and devoid of ornaments. Its porch—an open pillared chaultry—was in a dilapidated ruinous condition when I saw it in 1868, but it has since been repaired and white-washed. It is, even as the temple, devoid of architectural ornaments worthy of note. Right in front of the porch there is a large tank, which contributes largely to the picturesque effect of the edifice. On one side of the tank there is a masonry terrace with seats all round, which gives a romantic appearance to the place. The out offices of the temple are located behind it.

The presiding divinity of the temple is named Sākṣī Gopāla, 'the witness Gopāla'. The image (of stone) is about five feet high, standing erect, with the hands hanging by the sides. Its colour is grey, and not bluish black, which the name Gopāla would suggest. When I saw it at dawn it had no ornament on it and the dress was limited to a *dhuti* and a *chādar*. To its left stood an image of Rādhā, a little over four feet high. The sacred vessels and utensils in the temple were poor. When the doors of the sanctuary were opened, I saw in it a bedstead duly furnished, and close by it, a betel-box, an urn, and a spittoon, which were intended for the use of the divinities. The images, however, are too heavy to be put to bed. They are never moved from the stone pedestal on which they are placed.

The sanctity and the name of the principal image are due to a romantic story given in *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* (II. 5), and the *Bhaktamālā*. It is said that many centuries ago there lived in Vidyānagara, near Conjeveram, two poor Brahmans, who had gone on a tour to the northern provinces. After visiting Gayā, Beneras, Prayāga, &c. they riched Vṛndāvana, where they dwelt for a few days in the courtyard of the great temple of Gopāla. Of the two pilgrims, one was an elderly man and the other a youth. The latter was most assiduous in his service to his senior ; and the former, greatly pleased with it, said, 'Since you have erved me more faithfully than a son, I shall bestow on you my daughter'. 'Say not so', replied the youth, 'you are Kulin of the highest rank and I am an illiterate poor youth with no claim to nobility : how can you give your daughter to me ?' 'Promise to accept her, and I shall engage to give her to you', responded the senior. The youth said, 'If that be your wish, make the promise in the presence of Gopāla and I shall appeal to him as a witness should you hereafter fail'. The engagement was duly confirmed and the travellers returned home. But at Vidyānagara, the wife and the relatives of the senior Brahman strongly opposed the match and he had to evade his promise. He feigned forgetfulness and said that it was very unlikely that he had ever promised to throw away his daughter on so unworthy a person as the youth. The youth replied that the promise had been made in the presence of no less a person than Gopāla, the lord of the universe, and it should not be trifled with. The people laughed at him and said, 'Go and bring your witness before us if you wish for favourable hearing. Whoever heard of a stone image standing a witness to a marriage compact ?' The youth, thereupon, repaired to Vṛndāvana and insisted upon Gopāla coming with him to bear witness to the engagement. The god agreed on condition that the youth shall never look behind him as long as he was walking. 'How can that be ? The way is long and the journey must be protracted to months ; how shall I know that you are following me and had not given me the slip ? Already has the Brahman treated me falsely, and if you fail I shall be undone'. 'Fear not', said the god, 'I shall not treat you so ; and if you insist on some proof every moment that I am following you, you will have it. My motion behind you will be indicated by the ringing of the tinkling bells on my feet. You must, however, be careful that I am daily served with a seer of well-dressed rice for my repast'. The youth accepted these terms and started on his journey home, serving the god daily with as delicious a repast as he could afford to prepare. Months passed away and there was no hitch on either side ; at last, when crossing a heavy sandy plain near Conjeveram, according to one version, particles of sand filled the bells and deadened their sound. The youth heard not the tinkling and was very much frightened by the idea that the god had forsaken him. In his fear he forgot his compact with the god, and turned round, when lo : the god stood firm and would proceed no further, as the original compact had been broken. According to the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* version, the turning round was caused by a desire on the part of the youth to be satisfied that the god had really come, and there was no delusion in it. In either case the denoument was the same ; the god would advance no further. The poor youth, therefore, proceeded to the town and informed the elder Brahman of what had happened. The surprise at this occurrence was universal. The whole town repaired to the place to behold the image, and, true enough, there it was, and no imposition of any kind could be suspected. The place was an arid plain, where no image of any kind had before existed and the image was too big and heavy for a single person to bring it. It was a miracle and nothing but a miracle could have accomplished its presence there. All scruples regarding the lowly birth of the youth were, thereupon, overcome ; the Brahman repented of his conduct and thought himself blessed by making an alliance with one who was so highly favoured by the god. The news of the miracle soon reached the ears of the king of Conjeveram, who, with his whole court, visited the place, worshipped the image with the greatest devotion, caused a large temple to be erected for its accommodation and dedicated several villages for its support. Since then the image became the most revered object of **[144]** adoration and its fame for working miracles spread far and wide. Centuries after, negotiations were set on foot for the marriage of Pratāparudra of Orissa with Padmāvatī, the daughter of the then king of Conjeveram, and at first both parties were well disposed to the match ; but, it being brought to the notice of the bride's father that the bridegroom was in the habit of performing the duties of a Candāl by sweeping the street before the Car of Jagannātha, a difficulty arose. How could the king, a descendant of the solar race, demean himself by bestowing his daughter to a Candāl? The match was therefore broken off and Pratāparudra swore that, to avenge the insult, he would by force bring away the girl and give her away to a real Candāl (*ante,* p. [119]). He invaded Conjeveram twice, and on the second occasion succeeded in carrying away the fair lady, as also the image of Sākṣī Gopāla, which was the most sacred object in the dominion of his opponent. In the latter case, it is said, the permission of the divinity was duly obtained before the removal was effected. Brought to Puri it was provided with the temple in which we now find it and a large tract of land was assigned for its support.

CHAPTER IV

KONARAK

Koṇārak---its situation and present condition---Hindu legendary account---Story of Sāmba---Sun as the healer of leprosy---Merits of Koṇārak---Buddhist origin of the place---Muhammadan account--The Great Temple---its Courtyard, its Hall of Offerings, its Tower, its Audience Chamber, its Ornaments, its Date. Minor temples. Yājapur. Daśāśvamedha Ghāṭ. Cenotaph of Syad Bokhārī. Modern temples. Monolith. Śāntamādhava. Place at Narapadda. Kopārī. Assia Hills. Alti. Udayagiri. Nālti. Mahāvināyaka Hill. Chatiā Hill. Kapilāsa. Cuttack.

[145] The four most important places of pilgrimage in the province of Orissa are, according to the *Kapila Saṃhitā*, Cakra Kṣetra or Bhuvaneśvara ; Śaṅkha Kṣetra or Puri ; Padma Kṣetra or Koṇārak and Gadā Kṣetra or Yājapur. Two others are also named as places of great sanctity ; viz., Śambhu Kṣetra or Kapilās Hill and Vināyaka Kṣetra or Darpaṇa ; but they are of later date and devoid of all antiquarian interest. Of the four principal places, the first two are held in the highest estimation and most extensively visited by pilgrims. Representing the two leading gods of the modern Hindus, Śiva and Viṣṇu, they claim the most exalted sanctity and have prominent mention made of them in most Sanskrit works on pilgrimage. They are likewise highly interesting to the antiquarian, as they contain some of the most magnificent architectural remains to be met with in India. The other two have lost all importance in the eyes of the faithful. Koṇārak is totally deserted and Yājapur, though lying on the highway to Cuttack and serving as a halting-place for pilgrims in their way to Puri, is rarely resorted to as a place of pilgrimage. The former, however, contains the ruins of perhaps the largest and most beautiful temple which was ever erected by the northern Hindus, and as such is worthy of the attention of the archæologist.

Konarak—its situtation and present condition. Koṇārak is situated at a distance of 19 miles to the north-east of Puri, and at about the northern end of the sandy shore which stretches form the Cilkā Lake to the mouth of the Prācī River. The most prominent place in it is the Black Pagoda and its position is Latitude 19 *d.* 53 *m.* 32 *s.* N., and Longitude 86 *d.* 8 *m.* 31 *s.* E. Its current name is the vernacularised form of two Sanskrit words implying 'the corner of the sun' or 'the corner of Orissa dedicated to the sun' : *koṇa* 'corner' and *arka* 'the sun' : koṇārka[1]. In Sanskrit works this name, however, is never used ; its place being supplied by *Padma Kṣetra,* 'the sacred place of Viṣṇu's lotus', or *Arka Kṣetra,* 'the sanctuary of the sun'. In the *Sāmba Purāṇa* these names are replaced by *Maitrayana*, the forest of Mitra, or the 'Friendly Forest'. It is a small village, occupied principally by fishermen and other low-caste people and covered by large topes which form pleasant oases in the midst of a sandy plain. Milk and eggs are the only articles which the traveller can readily get at this place. The men are agriculturists and, to judge from their appearance, by no means living in a prosperous condition. From a few mounds of brick and rubbish to be seen here and there it would seem, however, that at one time the place was the site of a town of some importance. The fact of its having been selected as the locale of the largest temple in Orissa would also support the inference.

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[1] Konārak, Hunter ; Kanaruc, Furgusson ; Konarak, Stirling.

Story of Samba. The *Kapila Saṃhitā* devotes to this place barely two pages and they filled with an abstract of an ancient legend which occurs at length only in the *Sāmba Purāṇa*. References to this legend are to be met with in some medieval works on pilgrimages, but nowhere in any details. According to the *Sāmba Purāṇa*, Sāmba, the son of Kṛṣṇa by Jāmbavatī, was the handsomest youth of his race and very proud and wayward withal. In the hey-day of his youth and beauty he showed very little respect for age and wisdom and was foremost in every wicked play. While every other member of the Yādava race, including Kṛṣṇa, the head of the tribe, and his aged sire Vasudeva, evinced the most profound veneration for Nārada, the great sage of the time, he could only ridicule and mimic him. The sage, who loved mischief quite as much as the youth and was by nature irascible, could not brook his discourteous conduct and failing to check the youth by gentle means, adopted a highly reprehensible and unsaintly scheme to punish him. On one occasion going up to Kṛṣṇa, the sage insinuated that Sāmba was more familiar with the 1,600 wives of Kṛṣṇa than was becoming and that his extraordinary personal charms were dangerous to the purity of the ladies. Kṛṣṇa, however, scouted the idea and told the saint that he was sadly mistaken. 'How is it possible', said he, 'that one so young, so beautiful and so good as Sāmba could behave improperly towards his own step-mothers ?' 'You may not believe it now', returned the sage, 'but I shall have occasion to call your attention to it again'. A short time after, when Kṛṣṇa had **[146]** gone on an excursion to the Raivataka hill, Nārada called on Sāmba and told him forthwith to repair to Raivataka, where his father wished to see him. Sāmba obeyed the instruction and on the hill found his step-mothers excessively flushed with wine and indulging in throwing water upon each other in a tank. The ladies saw him and were very much smitten by his beauty. Nārada had followed him very closely and, going up to Kṛṣṇa, called his attention to the presence of Sāmba where the ladies in dishabille were engaged in bathing. Kṛṣṇa was greatly incensed and cursed the youth to be afflicted by leprosy, which would totally destroy his personal charms. Sāmba proved that he was innocent ; but the curse, once pronounced, could not be withdrawn and he had, by the advice of Nārada, to retire to the Maitra Forest and there abide for twelve years to cure his foul disease. The *Kapila Saṃhitā* does not refer to Nārada and directly charges the youth with jilting with his step-mothers and sends him to the forest by order of his father ; but as its account is avowedly an abstract, the omission may be due solely to a desire for condensation.

Arrived at the forest on the banks of the Candrabhāgā river, Sāmba commenced the most rigorous penance. 'With his mental faculties all under control and the external organs entirely overcome, living on air only, or without food, he devoted himself to the meditation of Sūrya. He worshipped the divinity, he bepraised him, he sang hymns to his glory, and frequently called out "O Sūrya, O Sūrya". "Salutation be to the author of the day, Salutation to the author of light. Redeem this slave rolling on the ground, O thou all-mercifull"

—was the *mantra* which he recited and, while reciting it, frequently fell prostrate on the earth'. The sun was pleased with the devotion, appeared to the youth in a dream and recommended him to repeat with unswerving faith the *mantra* of twenty-one epithets[2]. This was accordingly done for a period of twelve years, when the sun appeared before him in *propria persona* to offer him a blessing. 'I am greatly pleased with thee, gentle youth, for thy penance', said he, 'ask whatever blessing thou wishest'. Sāmba replied, 'If you are pleased with me, O Lord, let this be the blessing, that I may always be devoted to thee, the eternal god'. The sun : 'I am the more pleased with this devotion. It shall be so and you should have another blessing for your faith'. Sāmba thus sought the blessing from the auspicious god, the river of blessings : 'Let thy mercy rinse me from the foul disease which affects me'. 'So shall it be', returned the sun and immediately cured him and Sāmba regained his pristine beauty. The sun continued, 'Listen, Sāmba, to what I, pleased with thee, say unto thee : whoever from this day will on earth establish sanctuaries in my name will be translated to the eternal region'.

Sāmba resolved to do as he was directed. On the following morning, when bathing in the stream of the Candrabhāgā, Sāmba found a stone image in the bed of the river. It was the same which Viśvakarmā had thrown there in a former age and which had been carved out of a portion of the sun's body. It is said that Sūrya had married Saṃjñā, a daughter of Viśvakarmā ; but the young lady, disgusted with his fierceness and roughness, deserted him and hid herself in the Śveta Dvīpa. Sūrya thereupon consulted Brahmā, and by the advice of that divinity, got himself pared down and smoothed by Viśvakarmā, who put him on his lathe and pared off an eighth of his body by trimming every part except the feet. Having thus improved his appearance, Sūrya regained his truant wife. Viśvakarmā, unwilling to throw away the parings, fashioned them into various objects, such as the discus of Viṣṇu, the trident of Śiva, the club of Kuvera, the lance of Kārtikeya, and devoted a good portion to an image of the divinity. This last was by some accident thrown into the Candrabhāgā, and Sāmba, having got hold of this precious relic, set it up in an appropriate temple, and, by the advice of the divinity, procured certain Śākadvīpa Brahmins, whose profession was medicine, to serve as officiating priests. The image has remained there ever since.

[147] Sun as the healer of diseases. The most remarkable fact noticeable in this story is the recognition of the sun as the healer of diseases. In the dawn of ancient Indian mythology the sun occupied the most prominent place in a quite different capacity. As the source of light, heat and life, it could not but produce a most vivid impression on the minds of those who first attempted to rise above the earth in search of a first cause of the diverse phenomena of creation and destruction which surrounded them. Its position, its majesty, its beneficence, alike recommended it to be the most adorable of objects. It was too far removed from the reach of human touch to be called matter ; it was the most gorgeous and majestic object on which the human eye could rest ; and it was perfectly unconnected with everything that could do any harm to man. And nothing in human conception could, in primitive times, be more fitly associated with the Divinity than the bright god of day. Its earliest epithet was Prajāpati, the lord of the animated creation, and innumerable were the hymns which the early Aryans addressed to it to bespeak its favour. Air, water and fire were but its manifestations and abided in it. In course of time, however, it lost this proud preeminence and took the secodary position of the visible emblem of the invisible Godhead. The sacred Gāyatrī of the Brahmins recognised it in this capacity ; it invoked not the sun, but the Divine Spirit which vivified it. But the sun did not cease to be a god. Instead of being the God, it became one of the gods,—it became Viṣṇu, the 'All-Pervader'. Other changes followed and these have been already summarised in a preceding part of this work (*ante* I, pp. [157] f). The last capacity in which we find the sun in the Śāstras is that of curing diseases, especially leprosy, and in this character it appears in the few temples still extant in honour of it.

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[2] Kapila Saṃhitā, Ch. 6.

When this last transition took place is not known, but from two verses quoted in the *Kāvya Prakāśa* of Mammaṭha Bhaṭṭa, which dates from the 9th century, it would seem that the idea of the sun being the divinity over diseases must be considerably older. Mayūra Bhaṭṭa lived long before the date of the *Kāvya Prakāśa,* and he, having composed a century of verses in praise of Sūrya, is said to have cured himself of leprosy. Goyicandra, in his commentary on the *Saṃkṣiptasāra,* says that cures from diseases result from the grace of Sūrya ; and other authorities may be easily multiplied. According to the Purāṇas, the sun had, by Saṃjñā, the twin Aśvinikumāras, who were the physicians of the gods.

Merits of Konarak. But whatever the age when the change took place, Koṇārak has been noted from a long period as a holy one and especially beneficial to those who are afflicted with leprosy. The *Kapila Saṃhitā* is particularly eloquent in its praise. It says : 'The forest called Maitreya was produced by the penances of the sage Maitreya. A person going thereto immediately cures himself of the frightful disease. Those who wish to dwell there without passion and free from sin have their desires fulfilled by the lord of day. Those who give up their life in the delightful forest of Maitreya, casting aside all their sins, repair to the region of light. Those who devoutly behold the image of the sun on a Sunday in the sacred abode of Ravi, and those who die in the Maitreya forest, attaining immortality and freedom from all subsequent births, repair to the region of the Devas and enjoy eternal felicity with the sun. Whoever worships Bhāskara there with ardent faith immediately frees himself from all sins and obtains whatever he wishes. There exists the holy pool named Maṅgala which bestows desirable rewards to gods. A person bathing in it on a Tuesday for certain obtains prosperity. There also exists the sacred pool Sālmalibhāṇḍa, the purifier of the three regions, the remover of all sins, the pure, the adored of Siddhas and Gandharvas, surrounded by many saints and the giver of salvation to all. Bathing therein men attain the light of the sun. Bathing in the Sālmalibhāṇḍa and then beholding the lord of shadows, a person, destroying his sins, repairs to the region of the sun. There is not, verily there is not a river on earth equal to the Sūryagaṅgā. Bathing in the sea before the place a person purifies himself from all sins. The lord of waters, the sea, is the noblest of all sacred waters and in the waves of the lord of rivers there exists the sacred Rāmeśvara which Rāma worshipped for the good of created beings ; and those good men who worship that Rāmeśvara with due faith, obtain desirable rewards from Rāmacandra himself. Whoever worships Maheśvara there with aromatics, flowers and edibles, goes to the region of Śiva in a celestial car. Those who bathe in due form in the waters of the Candrabhāgā, attain a body resplendent as that of the moon, and ultimately translate themselves to the mansion of Indra. There exists an all-granting tree named Arkavaṭa, adorned by numerous birds and at its foot dwell many saints, and whoever goes to this salvation-giving banian tree, becomes for certain indestructible. For the good of animated beings Sūrya himself has become that tree and those who recite the excellent *mantra* of Sūrya under its shade in three fortnights attain perfection. On the earth this Arkavaṭa is the same with the Nandana tree of heaven and I verily say unto thee hereby dwell **[148]** Siddhas. Those who there reflect on Viṣṇu obtain the favour of Viṣṇu. Whoever dwells under that tree is doubtless a Siddha. Those who worship the maker of day on the day of Vijayā-saptamī become successful everywhere and free from sin. Those who devoutly behold the Car Festival in the Maitreya forest, behold the real body of the sun'.

Buddhist origin of the place. The reference to the Car Festival above made is of interest. It has been already shown (*ante*, pp. [135] f) that the festival owes its origin to Buddhism and its presence here suggests the idea that in it we have the survival of a Buddhist rite. The place must have been a flourishing town in the time of the Buddhists, though perhaps not so important at Bhuvaneśvara or Purī, and even as the two latter were appropriated by the Hindus, so was the former ; and Śiva and Viṣṇu having been provided for, Sūrya came in for the third place. The five leading forms of modern Hinduism, including those of the Śaivas, the Vaiṣṇavas, the Sauras, the Śāktas and the Gāṇapatyas, had already long since obtained good currency in the 5th and the 6th centuries, and at the revival of Hinduism in Orissa about that time it is but natural to suppose that each sect should select one of the principal Buddhist seats of the province for its respective system of religion. Accordingly we find the Śaivas at Bhuvaneśvara, the Vaiṣṇavas at Puri, and the Śāktas at Yājapur, all unquestionable Buddhist places, still possessing vestiges of former Buddhist domination ; and Koṇārak and Darpaṇa, the places for Sūrya and Gaṇeśa, may be fairly supposed to have been Buddhist. The evidence available is, certainly, exceedingly meagre and unsatisfactory ; but without the assumption of previous sanctity and celebrity, it becomes difficult to account for the selection of a sea-beach for the dedication of so costly and magnificent a temple as the Black Pagoda.

Muhammadan account. During the ascendancy of the Muhammadans, the place was still of considerable importance, and the Pathans were not above claming it as their own and attributing at least a part of its sanctity to a saint of their sect. This is evidenced by a story cited by Abul Fazl in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. It is there said—'Many pretend that at this place is the tomb of Kabir Mowelhid and to this day they relate many stories of his sayings and doings. He was revered both by Muhammadans and Hindus on account of his wisdom and exemplary virtue. When he died, the Brahmins wanted to carry his body to be burnt and the Muhammadans insisted on burying it ; but when they lifted up the sheet from the bier, the corpse could not be found'[3].

Of the Great Temple at the place, Abul Fazl gives the following account : 'Near to

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[3] Gladwin's Tr., ii, 15f.

Jaganaut is the temple of the sun, in the erecting of which was expended the whole revenue of Orissa for twelve years. No one can behold this immense edifice without being struck with amazement. The wall which surrounds the whole is one hundred and fifty cubits high and nineteen cubic thick. There are three entrances to it. At the eastern gate are two very fine figures of elephants each with a man up his trunk. To the west are two surprising figures of horsemen, completely armed ; and over the northern gate are carved two tigers, who having killed two elephants, are sitting upon them. In the front of the gate is a pillar of black stone,[4] of an octagonal form, fifty cubits high. There are nine flights of steps ; after ascending which you come into an extensive enclosure, where you discover a large dome, constrcted of stone, upon which are carved the sun and stars, and round them is a border, where are represented a variety of human figures expressing the different passions of the mind ; some kneeling, others prostrated with their faces upon the earth ; together with minstrels, and a number of strange and wonderful animals, such as never existed but in imagination. This is said to be a work of seven hundred and thirty years' antiquity. Rajah Nursing Deo finished this building, thereby erecting for himself a lasting monument of fame. There are twenty-eight other temples belonging to this pagoda, six before the northern gate and twenty-two without the enclosure ; and they are all reported to have performed miracles'[5].

[149] This description was apparently obtained from a correspondent who was by no means an accurate observer and its details are obviously faulty. It shows, however, that the place was at the time, about the close of the 16th century, still flourishing and not totally deserted as it now is. The *Temple Annals* say that the images of Sūrya and Candra, which were the presiding divinities of the Koṇārak Temple, were brought away to Puri by Narasiṃha Deva. (A. D. 1628-1652). It must follow that the accident which knocked down the temple, however caused, must have occurred between 1602, when Abul Fazl died, and the seventeenth century. With the removal of the sacred images, from a place which had no manufactures or commerce, nor any large navigable rivers, its desertion by the people who gave it *eclat* was a consequence which took only a few years to be consummated. The sea also had been gradually receding from its old shore-line, for originally the town was situated close by the sea-beach and it is now more than a mile away from it, and that must have also told upon the prosperity and contributed to the desertion of the place.

Great Temple—its courtyard. Of the twenty-eight minor temples noticed by Abul Fazl there is no trace left now ; and of the great temple itself, there is but a small remnant. The height of the enclosing wall as given by him is palpably wrong ; no enclosing wall that I have ever seen or read of rose to the stupendous height of hundred and fifty cubits. The wall is no longer existent ; but from the remains of the trenches formed by those who dug out and carried away the stones from its foundation, I calculate its thickness to have been about 7 or 8 feet ; and judging from that I believe the height of the wall was under 25 feet. I noticed a few of the battlements which originally capped the wall and are now lying about here and there, and they measured twenty-two inches in height with a thickness of about 16 inches. They had been evidently set up along the outer edge of the wall, leaving a broad berm behind for soldiers to walk about and defend the temple from outside attack. They are of identically the same shape and size as those of the battlements on the eastern and the southern sides of the Puri enclosure (Plates LII, LIII), and people say that the latter were brought from Koṇārak and set up when the Puri temple was repaired in the early part of the last century. This identity of shape and size, coupled with the fact already noticed (p. [113]) that these eastern and the southern battlements are different from those that occur on the western and the northern sides and which are older and smaller, fully bear out the tradition.

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[4] Now erected before the Puri Temple.

[5] Gladwin's Tr., ii, 15.

The trenches referred to above are not continuous ; they have been filled up in most places ; and the land on the western and the northern sides have been ploughed up and brought under cultivation ; I could not, therefore, measure the length of the enclosure. The breadth was, as far as I could make out, between 500 and 550 feet, and the length must have been about 750 feet. According to Abul Fazl this enclosure was pierced on three sides by gateways ; but the images of horses, tigers and elephants, said to have been placed by these gateways, and still extant, lying by the three doorways of the porch of the temple, and their pedestals are still traceable there. It is not at all likely that those who pulled down the gateways took the trouble to remove the images a great way off only to cast them on the ground. It is to be presumed, therefore, that the sites of the statues were the sides of the doors of the porch ; for I suspect the reporter of Abul Fazl confounded the outer gateways with the three doorways of the porch. The principal gateway was doubtless placed on the eastern side, right in front of the temple. It was most probably covered over by a pyramidal structure like what we see at Bhuvaneśvara and Puri ; but there is nothing to show whether this was repeated on the other sides or not. The Bhuvaneśvara enclosure has propylon on the east side, a small doorway each on the north and the south sides, but none on the west, and the same arrangement at one time obtained in the inner enclosing wall of the Puri temple, but its outer courtyard now has pyramidal propylons of uniform make on all the four sides ; it is difficult to determine, therefore, how many gateways there were at Koṇārak. There might have been three as stated by Abul Fazl ; but there are no traces of them now to be seen. The mistake made by Abul Fazl regarding the position of the statues has led Mr. Stirling to another. He is of opinion that 'within this (outer enclosure) was a second enclosure having three entrances called Aśva or horse, the Hasti or elephant and the Siṃha or lion gate, from the colossal figures of those animals which surmounted the several side posts. The horses and elephants on the north and south, have long since been precipitated from their bases, but the lions or rather griffins still retain the attitude and position assigned to them by Abul Fazl, except that they are standing, instead of sitting, on the bodies of elephants, and have one paw lifted in the act of striking'[6]. Now as the positions of the figures was close by, almost abutting, the entrances of the Audience Hall, there could not have been a second enclosure. The difficulty of removing the statues, urged with regard to the outer enclosure, applies equally to an inner one.

The Bhoga Mandapa. The original plan of the Bhuvaneśvara and the Puri temples included only two buildings, a temple proper and a porch or audience hall, the Jagamohan or Mohan of the Uriyas. Two other buildings were subsequently, at different times, added to each so as to make a suite of four buildings standing in a file **[150]** and communicating with each other. The Koṇārak builder, in addition to the two principal ones, took in hand a third, and he placed it so that enough room was left between it and the second for a fourth. In other words he had the temple and porch abutting each other and the Bhoga Maṇḍapa or Hall of Offerings at a short distance, leaving space for the Dancing Hall to be afterwards built. From its position, detached from the temple, the third building could not have well served the purposes which its name would indicate. Originally it must have been intended either for a Dancing Hall, a place of entertainment and music, or a lecture-room where the people congregated to hear the Śāstras interpreted, as in the chaultries of Southern India and the Mukti Maṇḍapa of Puri, though it was not an open building such as chaultries and Mukti Maṇḍapas usually are. But whatever it was, it was dismantled during the last century and removed to Puri, where it has now been set up as the Hall of Offerings of the Lord of the world (p. [120]). Its site at Koṇārak is now indicated by a huge mass of rubbish overgrown with jungle.

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[6] Asiatic Researches, xv, 328 f.

The Tower or Temple proper. Of the other two buildings the temple proper is also now totally dismantled, and forming an enormous mass of stones, studded with a few *pipal* trees here and there, and harbouring snakes, from the dread of which few care to approach it. The only work of art prominently noticeable on it at the time when I visited the place was a figure of a rampant lion, which had projected from the southern face of the tower. Wishing to have it measured with a tape, I desired a cowherd boy to go up and do the needful for me ; but the dread of snakes made him refuse my offer of two rupees, when his daily earnings probably did not exceed a penny. I guessed its size to be about 14 feet, and its weight, including that of the horizontal portion which was built into the wall, to be about 6 tons. It has jutted out in the air at a height of about a hundred feet from the ground. Judging from the Great Tower and other temples of Bhuvaneśvara, I believe there were similar figures also on the west and the north sides of the temple but they are now completely buried in rubbish. In 1824, when Mr. Stirling visited the place, only a small section of the temple was standing. It was about one hundred and twenty feet in height, and, when seen from a distance, gave 'to the ruin a singular appearance, something resembling that of a ship under sail'[7]. This portion was still standing in 1939, when Mr. Fergusson took a drawing of it for his *Picturesque Illustrations of the Architecture of Hindustan*, but when I saw it at the close of 1868 its upper portion had tumbled down. Mr. Fergusson has since produced a restored drawing of this temple and it affords the only representation that can now be had of this most magnificent sample of Orissan art.

How the temple fell cannot now be positively affirmed, but that the destruction was caused either by a sinking of the foundation or by a smart shock of earthquake, there can be no doubt. Exception might be taken to the earthquake theory as no effect of a seismic commotion is now visible on the porch ; but the effect of an earthquake on a slender tower upwards of 200 feet high would be very different from what it would be on a squat four-sided room with stone walls from 10 to 20 feet thick, and the tower might well suffer when the room escapes without a crack. It is difficult, however, to conceive that the memory of so severe a seismic catastrophe could be entirely forgotten. No slight quake could knock down so solid a structure of stone as the temple unquestionably was and a quake sufficiently vigorous for the purpose must have been very extensively felt and for certain remembered. But tradition is entirely silent in this respect and I am disposed, therefore, to lay greater stress on the faulty character of the foundation. The ground is everywhere in this locality sandy, and, though it is to be presumed that the architect had taken some precaution against the fault of the soil by carrying his foundation below the level of the upper sandy layer, it is very likely that he failed to reach the solid earth below, and, building on sand rendered the chance of the foundation sinking possible and that chance overtook his work in time. It is certain that the pillars which supported the masonry ceiling of the porch did fall by the sinking of the ground on which they had been built. Situated in the middle of a square room with stone walls 10 to 20 feet they could not break but by sinking and they brought down the ceiling along with them. No force to knock them dowm could be applied latterally which would leave the side walls uninjured ; and the walls are uninjured. It is obvious that in falling the pillars did not knock against the walls and we can attribute their fall only to the sinking of their bases. No other theory can suffice to explain the occurrence. If so what has unquestionably happened in the porch may be fairly assumed to have occurred in the temple. Mr. Fergusson is of this opinion. He says, 'From an examination of the ruins themselves, I am inclined to think that the failure of the marshy foundation that supported so enormous a mass was by far the most probable cause. Had the place been subject to earthquakes, the tottering fragment of the tower that still remains could scarcely have stood for two centuries and lightning could scarcely have shattered so enormous a pyramidal mass and was much more likely to have been attracted by the iron-roofed porch than by the tower which probably had no iron in its composition, while the appearance of the ruin is exactly that which would result from a subsidence of the foundation'[8]. That **[151]** the temple did not suffer from hostile attack may be assumed as certain, for stone walls of the thickness under notice could not be knocked down by any artillery which an enemy could bring to bear against them two to three hundred years ago. Artillery of the time did not break down the brick temple at Buddha Gayā[9]. Nor can we assume anything like blasting with gunpowder, as the quantity of powder which would have sufficed to knock down the temple would have also told seriously on the four walls of the porch. Mere undermining would have been a dangerous game for the miners ; it would have besides required a long time and left a huge tumulus of earth and sand in the neighbourhood. Adverting to the destruction and desecration of the temple, Mr. Stirling gives a story, the main element of which, a loadstone, is obviously fictitious, but the story is worthy of note. It runs thus :

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[7] Asiatic Researches, xv, 326.

'The natives of the neighbouring villages have a strange fable to account for its desertion. They relate that a *kumbha pāthar* or loadstone, of immense size, was formerly lodged in the summit of the great tower, which had the effect of drawing ashore all vessels passing near the coast. The inconvenience of this was so much felt that about two centuries since, in the Mughal time, the crew of a ship landed at a distance and stealing down the coast, attacked the temple, scaled the tower and carried off the loadstone. The priests, alarmed at this violation of the sanctity of the place, removed the image of the god with all its paraphernalia to Puri, where they have ever since remained, and from that date the temple became deserted and went rapidly to ruin. As above intimated, the origin of its dilapidation may obviously be ascribed either to an earthquake or to lightning. But many causes have concurred to accelerate the progress of destruction when once a beginning had been made. To say nothing of the effects of weather on a deserted building and of the vegetation that always takes root under such circumstances, it is clear that much injury has been done by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, in forcing out the iron clamps which held the stones together, for the sake of the metal ; and it is well known that the officers of the Marhatta government actually beat down a part of the walls, to procure materials for building some insignificant temples at Puri'[10].

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[8] 'Picturesque Illustrations of the Architecture of Hindustan', p. 27.

[9] 'Buddha Gayā', p. 81.

From its great height the tower served, as the porch now does, as a beacon to mariners, warning them of the shallow shore of the neighbourhood and it was an easy transit from that to the romantic loadstone and the story of Sinbad the sailor of the *Arabian Nights*. I was at first induced to think that the fall took place before the consecration of the temple and communicated the opinion to Dr. Hunter ; but after mature considertion I am forced to a different conclusion. The age of the images of the sun and the moon must date from the time the place was appropriated to Hindu worship in the 5th, the 6th or the 7th century, and the Gangetic king Lāṅguliya Narasiṃha built the great temple for their better accommodation. The consecration, therefore, must have taken place immediately after its completion. Thereafter, we have the testimony of Abul Fazl that the place continued in a thriving condition for three centuries and fell only in the beginning of the 17th century. It is impossible to believe that the temple was left unconsecrated for such a length of time.

The Audience Hall. The Jagamohan or Audience Hall is the only portion of the temple now in existence in its entirety : it passes under the name of the Black Pagoda. It is a square building of 66 feet a side, with a twofold projection on each side. In this respect the Koṇārak Jagamohan is different from the Puri and the Bhuvaneśvara examples. The latter are, as already shown, so broken by a multiplicity of buttress-like projections and receding angles that the original quadrangular character of their ground plan is not at all perceptible to the eye, whereas here the square form is prominently and obtrusively apparent (see Plate LVI and compare with Plate LIV). Mr. Stirling notices the square ground-plan, but adds, 'If we take in the four projecting doorways, it should rather be called a cross' ;[11] but the double projections on each side cannot strictly be so designated. The projections are comparatively slight and barely sufficient to break the monotony of the flat walls without disturbing their general character. The plinth is high, about 7 feet, and forms a berm all round the building ; but rubbish and broken stones have so accumulated all round that I could not ascertain the way in which it had been ornamented. Its existence is indicated by a flight of nine steps on the east side by which access is had to the top of the berm. Similar flights unquestionably existed on the north and the south sides ; but they are, except in a few places, now buried under rubbish. Above the berm there is a base moulding formed of a tile one foot thick, over it a deep cyma engraved on the upper surface in the form of lotus petals and thereupon a thin receding tile. The walls over this plinth are diversified by niches formed by flat pilasters and divided into two tiers by a broad flat-ribbed band which goes all round the building and gives to the whole the appearance of two storeys. Taking into account the plinth and the bands which lie on the upper row of niches, people generally describe the building as four-storeyed.

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[10] Asiatic Researches, xv. 327.

[11] Ib. 329.

[152] The niches are set off with floral band and designed for statues of men, women and lions. The bands are of the various types so common at Bhuvaneśvara (see illustrations in Vol. 1), but they are superior both in conception and in execution ; taken altogether they afford the most beautiful specimens of Orissan art. Above the upper row of niches there is another series of horizontal bands similar in make to the lower one, but of much greater depth, being equal to the depth of the space devoted to the upper row of niches and this completes the decoration of the side walls.

The cornice of this building is perfectly horizontal as at Bhuvaneśvara and Puri and projects nearly six feet from the body of the walls. It is formed of large slabs laid flat on the walls, and has, as elsewhere, no support of any kind, except what it derives from the portion resting on the wall on which it is placed, and the weight of the masonry built over it. Its outer edge is carved into a frieze of animals and is set off by a series of richly carved lancet-headed crests.

The roof begins on the cornice and recedes uniformly to perfect pyramid, the style of building being of the horizontal arch pattern so common in Hindu temples all over India. The perpendicular height of this pyramid is 63 or 64 feet and the slope about 72 feet. The body of the pyramid is not left bare ; at intervals ledges of the depth of the cornice project, and these with the cornice form a series of seven steps, of the same character and style, differing only in the figures carved on their edges, the pattern being different—lions, elephants, geese, soldiers, &c. being the objects carved. Above the seventh ledge the pyramidal core is left bare to the height of several feet ; in other words it forms a deep recess, the front of which is ornamented by a line of life-size human figures, with uplifted hands, showing as if they were supporting the superincumbent weight of a second series of six ledges. In 1838 when Mr. Fergusson visited the place, most of the figures were *in situ ;* but in 1869 they had been removed or broken down. Over the sixth ledge of the second series the bare pyramid re-appears with a line of human figures as in the first instance, and thereupon a series of five ledges are produced. The edges of these are left uncarved, and herein, as in most other details, the architect displays his consummate knowledge of his art. The edges are under 16 inches in thickness, and bassi-rilievi thereon placed at a height of over 80 feet would have been totally lost to the beholder. Over the topmost ledge comes a compressed ribbed dome supported on crouching lions and having over it a bell-shaped figure carved over with lotus petals, and thereupon a second dome supported on lions as the first, the arrangement being the exact counterpart of what obtains in the Audience Hall of the Great Tower at Bhuvaneśvara (Plate XXX). Originally over this stood the vase-shaped Kalaśa common on

Orissan porches ; but it has been somehow knocked down.

The following is Mr. Fergusson's description of this magnificent roof: 'The roof, which in height is about equal to the width of the temple, or sixty feet, is likewise divided into four compartments, the two lowest of which are composed of six projecting cornices, separated by a deeply recessed compartment containing sculpture as large as life ; while all the faces of these twelve cornices are covered by bassi-rilievi of processions, hunting and battle scenes and representations of all the occupations and amusements of life. The immense variety of illustrations of Hindu manners contained in it may be imagined when we think that, with a height of from one foot to eighteen inches, the frieze extends to nearly three thousand feet in length, and contains, probably, at least twice that number of figures. The upper of the three compartments has only five cornices, and none of their faces are sculptured. The whole is crowned by the lotus-shaped dominical ornament, as is universally the case but which is here of a singularly elegant form. Were such a roof as this placed over a colonnade or on a wall much cut up with openings, it would, no doubt, be overpoweringly heavy ; but placed as it is on a solid wall, with only one opening on each face, and that so deeply recessed, I scarcely know one so singularly appropriate and elegant ; and the play of light and shade from its bold and varied projections and intervening shadows give it a brilliant and sparkling effect that, I confess, I have almost never seen equalled'[12].

The porch has, as usual in Orissa, a single door on each side. The door is placed in the middle of the central bay, which projects nearly ten feet from the line of the wall. The western door is covered by the debris of the fallen temple on the outside, and that of the ceiling inside, and could not, therefore, be seen. The doors on the other three sides are very much alike, and, *mutatis mutandis*, the description of one applies to the other two. The most elaborately finished is the eastern gate which forms the main entrance to the chamber. It was originally flanked on each side by a polygonal pilaster, which was *in situ* in 1838 when Mr. Fergusson made his drawing, but I saw no trace of it. The broken face of the wall shown in Plate No. LVI indicates the position it occupied. On its outer side there were two statues one over the other in a line with the niches in the wall. The left-hand side figures are still extant ; but those on the right side have been destroyed. The pilasters supported an iron beam 21 feet long with an average scantling of 1 to 8 inches (see Vol. 1. p. [36]) and over it was placed a heavy piece of stone 19 x 3 x 3 ft. This formed the architrave, and on its front were carved **[153]** in bas-relief the images of the nine planets. The top of the architrave was placed flush with the horizontal bands which form the upper tier of the four-fold division of the wall. In Mr. Fergusson's picture some bassi-rilievi are shown on the space between the top of the architrave and the cornice,[13] but in my photograph the space appears all broken and dilapidated. In fact the fall of the side pilasters brought down the iron beam, the stone architrave and the sculptures above them. In some respect Mr. Fergusson's picture appears to be a restoration and I am not certain, therefore, whether the side pilasters with their superstructure have fallen since 1838 or had tumbled before that date. At the close of 1868 the beam was lying in front of the temple and the stone architrave on a truck at a distance of above two hundred yards from it.

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[12] 'Picturesque Illustrations of the Architecture of Hindustan', p. 28.

[13] Ib. plate II.

The face of the stone architrave is divided into nine panels, each containing a human figure, richly ornamented, wearing a high-pointed crown and seated cross-legged on a lotus. The panels are framed by squat pilasters supporting a trifoiled arch (Plate LVIII). The design is neat and beautifully executed. The first figure, beginning from the left-hand side, is that of Ravi or the sun. According to a hymn attributed to Vyāsa, he should be of the colour of the hibiscus flower (*jabā*) and very refulgent ; but in sculpture he appears like a genial looking man holding a full-blown lotus in each uplifted hand. The second is Soma or the moon. In appearance it is the counterpart of the first, except in the position of the hands, which are stretched forward, the left holding a water vessel and the right a rosary which he is engaged in counting. The hymn aforesaid assigns him a white colour like that of the conch-shell, or snow. The third is Maṅgala (Mars) ; the fourth Budha (Mercury), son of the moon ; the fifth Bṛhaspati (Jupiter) : the sixth Śukra (Venus) ; and the seventh Śani (Saturn). In sculpture they are alike in form, feature, ornaments and occupation, except Jupiter who sports a flowing beard. In the hymn, the third is described to be a red-coloured youth, born of the earth, resplendent as an agglomeration of lightning and holding a spike. The fourth is a son of the moon, of a dark blue colour like that of the bud of the *priyangu* (*Panicum Italicum*), of unrivalled beauty and benign appearance. The fifth is of the colour of gold ; he is the high priest of gods and and sages. The sixth is the high priest of the Asuras, and of the colour of the stalk of the winter jessamine (*Jesmenia pubescens*). The seventh is the son of Ravi (sun) by Chāyā (darkness) and of a deep blue colour. The eighth Rāhu or the ascending node, is the son of Siṃhikā. He was produced by one human body being divided into two, the upper half forming him and the lower half the decending node. He is of a most fierce aspect and the oppressor of the sun and the moon, one or other of which, according to Puranic mythology,[14] he swallows and thereby produces an eclipse. In sculpture he is represented as a grinning grotesque monster, with one immense canine tooth projecting from the upper jaw ; he has a rounded crown with three triangular peaks and a nimbus of rays terminating in dots. In one hand he holds a rounded object, which Mr. Stirling takes for a hatchet, but which is probably meant for the sun, and in the other a crescent moon. The last is Ketu, the descending node, son of Rudra ; he is of the colour of a smoke rising from smouldering straw, fierce and wicked, the oppressor of the stars. The upper part of his body is in all its details similar to that of the first four figures, but the lower part is formed of the body of a serpent which coils round so as at first sight to produce the impression of its being of the same character as that of the first seven figures. The busts of most of the figures are so developed as to appear like those of young women. Mr. Stirling describes the 6th as a youthful female, with 'plump well rounded figure'[15] ; but the mistake has arisen from the association of the idea of Venus with this figure. As an Englishman, Mr. Stirling could not shake off his early impressions. In India neither the moon nor Venus is anywhere likened to a female. On reference to the photograph (Plate LVIII) it will also be seen that the sixth figure does not differ from the others. Images of these planets, besides, occur over the doorway of all the richer temples in Orissa and nowhere has a female been placed in the room of the high priest of the Asuras. In legends Śukra is blind of one eye, but this is not shown in sculpture. The object of placing the planets over the gateway is to make them, who are the arbiters of mundane destiny, subservient to the welfare of the temple.

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[14] The Chāndogya Upaniṣad of the Sāmaveda also refers to this legend.

[15] Asiatic Researches, xv. 332.

Both the design and the execution of the frieze are excellent and as the stone was lying uncared for in front of the porch, the Asiatic Society of Bengal some time ago expressed a wish to have it brought to its Museum at Calcutta. The Government, thereupon, sanctioned a grant of of Rs. 3,000 for its removal and the work was made over to the Public Works Department. The grant, however, sufficed for the laying of a tram-road and the removal of the stone to a distance of about two hundred yards, and, the nearest port for putting the stone on board a Government steamer being somewhat over a mile, the work had to be abandoned, and the stone now lies on its truck as shown in the photograph.

[154] The door frame is of chlorite and of a rectangular shape. It appears, however, in the annexed photograph (Plate LVII) narrow above and broad at the base, like an ancient Egyptian doorway ; this is owing to error produced by the camera having been placed in a slanting position on very low ground right in front. Its front is one mass of carving of the richest and most sumptuous description to be seen anywhere in India. The pattern is conventional, being met with not only in different parts of Orissa, notably in the porch of the Great Tower of Bhuvaneśvara, but also in the Ajanta Cave No. I[16] and elsewhere ; but its finish is most exquisite, The design includes seven distinct bands enclosed in a frame having its edge moulded in the form of cymarecta and set off with a series of lotus-petals edged with beaded ornaments. In the photograph the petals may be mistaken for echinæ. The bands are all set on the same level ; they rise from the top of alto-rilievo human figures standing in different attitudes and terminate at the corner of the lintel, the transverse portions on the lintel being in some of the bands differently ornamented. The inmost band has a floral design similar to Fig. 24, Plate XI of Vol 1. The next is formed of two twining serpents which terminate at the top in a female bust. The chaste design and exquisite finish of this scroll cannot be surpassed by any carving of medieval times. The third is formed of panels filled in, alternately, with the coat-of-arms design shown in Fig. 46*b*, Plate XXXIII, Vol. 1, and human couples in disgustingly obscene attitudes. In the transverse portion of this band the coat-of-arms design is omitted and the human couples are replaced by single squatting figures, either singing or playing on musical instruments. The fourth is a trailing vine in the loops of which cherubs are at play. In the transverse portion of this band the vine is dropped and the cherubs are replaced by human figures in a flying attitude, each carrying a female seated on his out-stretched thigh (Fig. 143, Plate XXXVI, Vol. 1). The fifth is formed of a series of miniature pilasters set one over the other, the transverse portion being filled in with musicians playing mostly on the large drum called *khola* (Fig. 169, Plate XXX, Vol. 1). The sixth is a repetition of the third in every detail and the seventh is formed of a string of cucurbitaceous flowers (Fig. 143, Plate XXXVI, Vol. 1). In the middle of the transverse portion of each band there is a panel flanked with pilasters and filled in with bassi-rilievi. The subject of the lowest panel is the sun as shown in the Navagraha frieze, holding a full-blown lotus in each hand and attended by two servants waving *chauris*. In the next panel the central figure is a rājā explaining something to a minister standing with folded hands on one side while a servant on the other side waves a *chauri*. This is repeated in the third, fourth, fifth and sixth panels. In the topmost panel the rājā appears in a niche surmounted by a trifoiled arch and having the head of an elephant on each side.

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[16] Indian Antiquary for August 1874.

When the side pilasters were *in situ* the frame was separated from them by an interval of about a foot and a half, which was left plain. This arrangement brought out the carvings in good relief and by marked contrast produced excellent artistic effect. The sides of the entrance were also perfectly plain, the large polished chlorite slabs with which they are lined producing a much better effect than any carved work could do. The slabs have now been defaced by the vandalism of European visitors,—mostly civil and military officers who have from time to time held charge of the districts of Puri and Cuttack,—who have purchased cheap immortality by scratching their names thereon with pen knives or other iron instruments. To the honour of the learned historian of Orissa, I must, however, add that Mr. Stirling's name does not appear on the slabs.

The interior of the chamber is plain. The walls were plastered and white-washed, but not set off with any carving. A plain moulding formed of a cyma and a tile runs all round the room at height of 5 feet from the floor and that is the only decoration which has been attempted for the interior. The floor is entirely covered by a large mass of rubbish, which has resulted from the fall of a false flat ceiling which originally covered the under-surface of the pyramidal roof. This ceiling was supported on four square pillars which had divided the area of the room into a nave and two aisles. The remains of these pillars are still to be found in the midst of the rubbish, as also the iron beams which were laid over them, and which extended from them to the side walls to support the ceiling. The beams are of thick scantling and from 12 to 20 feet long. A few of the beams are still sticking to the walls by one end, the other hanging in the air. The ceiling formed no part of the roof and there was considerable space left vacant between it and the roof. According to Abul Fazl's description the ceiling was painted (p. [148]) but no trace of such painting can now be found. It is obvious that the pillars did not fall from the weight of the roof, nor could lightning or earthquake knock them down, leaving the side walls and the roof untouched. Hostile human agency could not be brought to bear upon them without injuring the walls, but the walls are uninjured, and even the plastering on them is tolerably intact. The solution of the problem, therefore, can be effected only by the supposition that the foundation of the pillars sank and thereby brought down the superstructure.

Taking the structure as a whole it is the noblest specimen of medieval art extant in India. Faults it has, both mechanical and artistic, and serious ones too,—but its general excellence entirely covers its defects and very justly did **[155]** Abul Fazl remark 'that no one can behold this immense edifice without being struck with amazement'. Mr. Fergusson, by far the ablest European critic who has visited this temple, and whose opinion in a question of this kind would carry the greatest weight, is most emphatic in his praise of this monument. He says, 'The temple itself is of the same form as all the Orissan temples and nearly of the same dimensions as the great ones of Bobaneswar and Puri ; it surpasses, however, both these in lavish richness of detail ; so much so, indeed, that perhaps I do not exaggerate when I say that it is, for its size, the most richly ornamented building—externally at least—in the whole world'[17]. Again : 'Taken altogether, this building may, as far as my experience goes, be considered as one of the very best specimens of Indian architecture as an exterior ; though in Upper India there are interiors infinitely finer. There is altogether so much consonance in the parts and appropriateness in the details, that the effect of the whole is particularly charming. In speaking, however, thus in its praise, I must be understood to limit that to its effect as an artistic architectural composition ; for the sculpture that covers the walls—not the roof—is generally bad in design and execution and of an obscenity of expression which it is impossible to describe and which it would be difficult for even a very depraved European imagination to conceive[18]. It is, however, so completely subordinate to the architecture that this defect is not perceived in contemplating the building at such a distance as enables one to grasp it as a whole'[19].

Adverting to the sculptures of this temple, Mr. Stirling says, 'The skill and labour of the best artists seem to have been reserved for the finely polished slabs of chlorite, which line and decorate the outer faces of the doorways. The whole of the sculpture on these figures, comprising men and animals, foliage and arabesque patterns, is executed with a degree of taste, propriety and freedom, which would stand a comparison with some of our best specimens of Gothic architectural ornament. The workmanship remains, too, as perfect as if it had just come from under the chisel of the sculptor, owing to the extreme hardness and durability of the stone'[20].

The testimony of Dr. W. W. Hunter is also worthy of note. He says, 'The most exquisite memorial of sun worship in India, or I believe in any country, is the temple of Konarak upon the Orissa shore. It concentrates in itself the accumulated beauties of the four architectural centuries among the Hindus. Notwithstanding the indecent sculptures which disgrace its exterior wall, it forms the climax of Bengal art and wrung an unwilling tribute even from the Muhammadans'[21]. Referring to the tact and talent of the artists, he observes : 'Sculptures in high relief, exquisitely cut, but of an indecent character, cover the exterior walls and bear witness to an age when Hindu artists worked from nature. The nymphs are beautifully shaped women, in luscious attitudes ; the elephants move along at the true elephant trot and kneel down in stone exactly as they did in life. Some of the latter have, however, the exaggerated ear and conventional mouth of modern Hindu sculpture and the lions must have been altogether evolved from the artists' inner consciousness'[22]. 'They handled their colossal beams of iron and stone with as much ease and plasticity as modern workmen put up pine-rafters ; and fitted in blocks of twenty to thirty tons with absolute precision at a height of eighty feet'. 'Among the life-sized pieces, elephants crouch in terror under rampant lions, while mutilated human figures lie crushed beneath the flat pulpy feet of the elephants. Clubmen, griffins, warriors on prancing horses, colossal figures of grotesque and varied shape, stand about in silent stony groups. The elephants have the flabby under-lips of nature and exhibit a uniformity in all the essential points of their anatomy, with a variety in posture and detail, which Hindu art has long forgotten. Two colossal horses guard the southern facade, one perfect, the other with his neck broken and otherwise shattered. The right hand stallion has a Roman nose, prominent eyes, nostrils not too open and in other respects carved from a well bred model ; excepting the jowl, which is bridled in close upon the neck, making the channel too narrow—a mistake which I have also noticed in the ancient sculptures of Italy and Greece. The legs, too, have a fleshy and conventional look. He is very richly caparisoned with bosses and bands round the face, heavy chain armour on the neck, tasselled necklaces, jewelled bracelets on all four legs, and a tasselled breast-band which keeps the saddle in position. The saddle resembles the medieval ones of Western chivalry, with a high pummel and well-marked cantle, but has a modern girth, consisting of a single broad band clasped by buckle outside the fringe of a sumptuous saddle-cloth. The stirrup irons are round, like those of our own cavalry. A scabbard for a short Roman sword hangs down on the left, a quiver filled with feathered arrows on the right, while a groom adorned with necklaces and breast jewels runs at the horse's head, holding the bridle. The fierce war-stallion has stamped down two of the enemy ; not kicking or prancing, but fairly trampling them into the earth. These appear to be Rākṣasas **[156]** or aborigines, from their woolly hair, tiger-like mouths and tusks, and their short curved swords like the national Gurkha weapon, (*kukuri*), half billhook, half falchion and equally suited for ripping up a foe, or for cutting a path through the jungle. They wear heavy armlets, but no defensive armour, excepting a round shield made of several plies of metal richly carved, with a boss in the centre and tassels or tufts of hair hanging down from it. The shields appear to have borne some heraldic device and the most perfect of them still exhibits two lizards climbing up on either side of the boss, done to the life. Such quasi-armorial bearings frequently appear in Orissa. Stirling noticed one at Bhuvaneśvara in 1820 and the chiefs of the adjoining Tributary States have each a heraldic device or emblem of signature, handed down in their families from remote generations'[23].

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[17] 'Picturesque Illustrations of Ancient Architecture in Hindustan', p. 27.

[18] Not quite so, for, before the passing of the Act for the suppression of obscene pictures, print-shops in Calcutta abounded in European pictures of the most disgusting description possible, which could not be surpassed by the pruriency of the sculptures under notice. Until lately, European stereoscopic pictures, taken from life, and indescribably obscene, were equally abundant in Calcutta.

[19] 'Picturesque Illustrations', etc. p. 28. [20] Asiatic Researches, xv. 332.

[21] 'Orissa', I. 288. [22] Ibid, 291.

Date of the Temple. The date of the Sun Temple, according to the *Temple Annals*, is Śaka 1200, i. e. A. D. 1278. In the abridged version of the *Annals* the statement runs thus : 'His son Lāṅgulīya Narasiṃha Deva reigned for 45 years. Śaka 1204. This king erected in the Arka Kṣetra a temple to the god Koṇārak. His seal runs thus : "The lord of the earth, the tailed king Narasiṃha, erected a temple for the ray-garlanded god in the Śaka year twelve hundred". This king filled up the river Bānkimohanī'. Mr. Stirling says, 'the present edifice, it is well-known, was built by Rājā Lāṅgora Narsiṃgh Deo, A. D. 1241, under the superintendence of his minister Shibāi Sautra'[24]. In the *Puruṣottama-candrikā*, the reign of the tailed king is said to have extended from 1159 to 1204 Śaka ; but the date of the temple is not given. Dr. Hunter adopts these dates, giving 1237 for accession and 1282 for the demise of the king. The date of erection given in the *Annals* does not correspond with the date given by Mr. Stirling, the difference being 37 years. I know not how to account for this, unless I assume that Stirling named the commencement of Narasiṃha's reign for the date of the temple. This difficulty, however, is greatly enhanced when the statement of Abul Fazl, that the temple was, in his time at the close of the 16th century, 730 years old, is taken into account. Mr. Fergusson, commenting on the date given in the *Annals*, says :

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[23] Ibid, p. 293. [24] Asiatic Researches, xv, p. 327.

'Complete as this evidence, at first sight, appears, I have no hesitation in putting it aside, for the simple reason that it seems impossible—after the erection of so degraded a specimen of the art as the temple of Puri (A. D. 1174)—the style ever could have reverted to anything so beautiful as this. In general design and detail it is so similar to the Jagamohan of the great temple at Bhuvaneswar that at first sight I should be inclined to place it in the same century ; but the details of the tower exhibit a progress towards modern forms which is unmistakable and render a difference of date of two or possibly of three centuries more probable. Yet the only written authority I know of for such a date is that given by Abul Fazl. After describing the temple and ascribing it to Raja Narsingh Deo, in A. D. 1241, with an amount of detail and degree of circumstantiality which has deceived every one, he quietly adds that it is said "to be a work of 730 years' antiquity". In other words, it was erected in A. D. 850 or A. D. 873, according to the date we assume for the composition of the *Ayeen Akbery*. If there were a king of that name among the *Rois faineants* of the Kesari line, this would suffice ; but no such name is found in the lists. This, however, is not final ; for in an inscription on the Brahmaneswar temple, the queen, who built it, mentions the names of her husband, Udyalaka, and six of his ancestors ; but neither he nor any of them are to be found in the lists except the first, Janmejaya, and it is doubtful whether even he was a Kesari king or the hero of the *Mahābhārata*. In all this uncertainty we have really nothing to guide us but the architecture, and its testimony is so distinct that it does not appear to me doubtful that this temple really belongs to the latter half of the 9th century'[25].

The architectural argument in this extract I have already discussed in connexion with the Temple of Puri (*ante*, pp. [117] ff.). It is not of a character to justify the rejection of the *Temple Records*, which are for the period unquestionably contemporary, and therefore not open to doubt, and the only way to solve the difficulty appears to me to be the assumption that the informant of Abul Fazl confounded the date of the original temple which was erected when Koṇārak was appropriated to Hindu worship with the large temple subsequently erected by the Gangetic king, in rivalry with the builder of the Puri edifice. I have already shown that the details given by Abul Fazl are obviously incorrect, and an error of the kind I suggest was just what was most likely to happen. Under any circumsance I am not prepared to reject the positive statement of contemporary annals, and the testimony of the legend on the seal, on the authority of Abul Fazl, or on architectural deductions founded on insufficient data and moulded by preconceived theories.

[157] Of the minor places of sanctity noticed in the *Kapila Saṃhitā* none is now traceable ; even the sacred fig-tree has totally disappeared and none has been planted to supply its place. Close by, and to the south of, the temple, under a mango tope, a maṭh has been erected, and is now kept in a neat and tidy state ; but it is scarcely a hundred years old and deserves no notice.

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[25] 'History of Indian and Eastern Architecture', p. 426.

Yajapur. The last of the four emblems of Viṣṇu, is represented by Yājapur. It was there that Viṣṇu dropped his club, whence its name Gadā Kṣetra. It is said that on the left bank of the Vaitaraṇī river in front of the town, Brahmā celebrated the horse-sacrifice ten times over and the place thereupon obtained the name of Yajñapura, or 'the city of sacrifices'. This is an adaptation of a story which is related in connection with one of the ghāṭs of Benares, which is called Daśāśvamedha Ghāṭ, and it is in perfect keeping with the opinion expressed above regarding the attempt made to reproduce Benares in all its details in Orissa. In course of the sacrifices aforesaid, there sprang from the flaming alter an embodiment of the divine mother Durgā in the form of Virajā, the immaculate, and in honour of her the place is called Virajā Kṣetra. Again, the great Titan Gayā, when laid prostrate before Viṣṇu, stretched so far and wide that while his head rested at Gayā, his navel was located at Yājapur, and its memory is preserved in the name of the place Nābhī Kṣetra. A well or natural fountain, still existing, is pointed out as the centre of the navel ; and here *śrāddhas* are performed by Hindu pilgrims and the funeral cake is thrown into the pit of the well. Again, it is said, that as Yayāti Keśarī, in his march southwards, first established his metropolis at Yājapur, he must have built the city and named it after himself Yayātipura, which now survives in the abbreviated form of Yājapur. This derivation, however, is questionable. Under the phonetic rules of the Pṛakrita language, Yayāti would not change into Yāja ; whereas Yaj, the radical of Yajña, even in Sanskrit, yields the noun Yāja or Yāga, 'a sacrifice', and thence Yājapur is an obvious and legitimate derivation.

I have elsewhere shown that the story of Gayāsura is an allegorical representation of the spread of Buddhism in India and that Gayā and Yājapur represented the chief seats of that religion[26]. I have also shown above (p. [58]) that the revival of Hinduism commenced from the north and gradually spread towards the south, and that Yayāti Keśarī, coming from Bihar, found the city of Yājapur conveniently situated to form the base of his operations in the south, and so made it his capital for a time. He did not build it, but took it as he found it, and it was then a place of considerable importance. The story of Gayāsura's navel leaves no room for doubt on the subject. Situated close to Dantapura, the locale of the sacred tooth-relic, it was probably in existence when Buddhism first spread in Orissa ; at any rate it certainly was a sufficiently important seat of Buddhism when the Gayāsura story was got up in the 4th or the 5th century, to be called the navel of that religion, and its relics are not wanting even to this day. Yayāti, as a Hindu revivalist, first assailed it and brought it under subjugation. From that time to the middle of the 16th century, it flourished as one of the seven metropolises of Orissa and was enriched by numerous costly edifices by the architecture-loving sovereigns of that country. But even as the Hindus had expelled the Buddhists from the town and converted their sanctuaries into Hindu places of worship, so did the Muhamadans, a thousand years after, expel the Hindus and build monuments in honour of their faith with the materials of Hindu temples. Kālāpāhāḍa, the redoubtable champion of Islam and uncompromising iconoclast, assailed Orissa in the year 1558 and after the great battle fought before Yājapur[27], when the independence of the Uriyas finally succumbed to his sword, swept away every vestige of Hinduism that fell in his way. Temples were demolished and dismantled ; idols defaced, or pounded down, or cast into the river ; and the accumulated treasures of art of a thousand years were lost for ever. So complete was the havoc committed that, with the exception of a solitary monumental pillar and a few broken stones, there is nothing left now to convey a fair idea of what Yājapur contained in the days of its glory.

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[26] 'Buddha Gayā', p. 10 f.

Of the few remains which still exist, notices have already been published by seveal writers[28]. I shall, therefore, here attempt only a summary.

The oldest monument extant at Yājapur is the Daśāśvamedha Ghāṭ, on the right bank of the Vaitaraṇī. It is the site, according to some, of Brahmā's horse-sacrifice, and according to others that of the same rite celebrated by Yayāti **[158]** Keśarī. The latter would be the most probable supposition ; but the *Temple Records* are entirely silent on the subject. Anyhow the worn-out appearance of the stone steps of which the Ghāṭ is formed affords unquestionable evidence of its age and obviously it is undisguised by any modern addition. It was originally flanked by a substantial revetment on each side, but it is now very much dilapidated and barely traceable. The revetments were provided with ornamented stumps for fastening boats and remains of these are still recognizable. These show that the river, which is now a bed of sand, once flowed flush with the revetment, and boats could, and did, come close to the Ghāṭ.

Viraja's Temple. Proceeding straight from the Ghāṭ to the south of the town there is a broad street and at the end of it stands a temple dedicated to Virajā, the 'immaculate' goddess, who is said to have sprung from the fire alter of Brahmā, when that divinity performed his horse-sacrifices. The temple is of the usual Orissan style ; it has a porch in front and is situated in the midst of the large compound surrounded by a high wall and studded with trees. At the eastern side of the compound there is a good sized propylon. This gateway and the temple itself bear masses of well-executed sculptures of an ancient date ; they have, however, been so masked and modernised by additions and alterations, that they have entirely lost all antiquarian interest. In the courtyard of this temple occurs the well or vat called Gayānābhī or the navel of the domon Gayā.

Cenotaph of Sayyad Bukhari. The only other monument in the town is the cenotaph of Sayyad 'Ali Bukhari, a Pathan saint of some renown, who accompanied Kālāpāhāḍa. 'It is said that after the battle at Yājpur he accompanied his chief to Katak, where he displayed great valour in the siege of Fort Bārobati ; but when its garrison was about to yield, his head was severed by the sword of the enemy. His headless trunk, however, gave spur to his horse which carried him straight to Yājpur. Here he prayed and was sanctified, like the king of France at the gate of heaven :—"And then he set up such a headless howl, that all the saints came out and took him in". 'Ali Bukhari was then buried on the high terrace where his tomb still stands, his horse being buried in a separate grave beside him. It is also said that his head was interred in Katak, perhaps in the tomb which stands under the pipal tree in the centre of the Fort'[29].

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[27] Babu Chandrasekhara Banurji in Jour. As. Soc. xl, p. 152 and Blockmann in Jour. As. Soc. xl, p. 159.

[28] Stirling, Asiatic Researches, xv ; Chandrasekhara Banurji, Journal Asiatic Society, xl ; Hunter, 'Orissa', i ; Smeaton, Calcutta Gazette for August, 1869.

The monument was built on the foundation of a Hindu temple and with its materials. Babu Chandrasekhara Banurji says that 'the site was the steryobate of a Mukti Maṇḍapa attached to a temple'. The temple, however, has left no trace and the divinity to whom it was dedicated is unknown. Leaning against the wall of the cenotaph three statues were noticed by Mr. Stirling. They have since been removed to the compound of the subdivisional court, where they now are. They represent the three goddesses Varāhī, Indrānī and Cāmuṇḍā. They are made of coarse sandstone and each about 8 feet high. Drawings from photographs of these occur in Plates XXXIX and LXI and their descriptions occur on pages [140-141]. There were doubtless five others to complete the eight Primitive Mothers ; but the Muhammadans broke them down and made them (so runs the tradition) into balls and shots for their guns or cast them into the bed of the Vaitaraṇī river. The three existing images had been thrown down from their platform and were found by Mr. Stirling 'with their feet uppermost and half buried in a mass of rubbish'.

Modern temples. On the other side of the river opposite the Daśāśvamedha Ghāṭ, there is a modern room, which was built by a cloth merchant about a hundred years ago, and in it are deposited a great number of more or less mutilated sculptures of ancient date, picked up from different parts of the town and its neighbourhood. Among them there is a set of seven images representing the Mātṛs. They are of small size ; but in their details exact counterparts of those at Puri, and of the three noticed above. There should have been eight in all, but one is missing.

Within a mile of the town there is a place called Gaurāng Deorī and there are 'two stone buildings of the old solid style, a stone gate with a pointed arch and a small tank', all dedicated to Govindjī, but of no antiquarian interest.

Candesvara column. In the village of Candeśvara about a mile from Yājapur, there is a monolyth standing amidst some jungle, and close by a hut. It is called Sabhā Stambha; it measures 36 ft. 10 in., the shaft being 29 feet. As far as the shaft is concerned, it is the exact counterpart of the Sun pillar at Puri, a polygon of 16 sides, most beautifully and truly cut. But its base and capital are different. The column is of chlorite, but the base, as now seen, is of gneiss, rough and unfiinished, showing holes, whereby was attached an outer layer of chlorite slabs. What the shape of the outer layer was cannot be guessed ; but looking to the arrangement of the core—a series of four steps—it must have been totally different from the elegant and highly artistic base of the Puri pillar. Babu Chandrasekhara Banurji says that 'there was at the foot an inscription on a slab which a Sannyāsī destroyed in the hope of obtaining the treasure which he **[159]** supposed was hidden hehind it'[30]. Mr. Stirling evidently refers to that when he says 'that on one of the pillars an inscription has been discovered, which is said to be of the same character exactly as that on the brow of the Khaṇḍagiri cavern of Khurdā'[31]. The inscription, however, is lost and no deduction can be founded on it. The holes in the base have suggested the idea that they have been made by order of Kālāpāhāḍa to tie ropes to knock the column down and that trains of elephants had been set to effect the demolition. This is simply a romantic fable. Obviously no attempt of the kind was ever made, for had it been made it would have for certain proved successful. The Pathans were giants in architecture and to them the knocking down of a chlorite pillar of 16 inches' diameter would have been a mere child's play.

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[29] Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, xl, p. 153.

[30] Ib., xl, 156.

The capital of the column is of the *lāṭ* type. The collar has festoons of beaded garlands hanging from lions' heads ; and over it occurs a double lotus, and on it a tile with a cyma over it, having three couchant lions on one side. There was probably an animal of some kind on the centre of the top ; but it has been knocked down and lost. A very good drawing of the pillar (taken from a photograph) occurs in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society* for 1872 and Mr. Fergusson has published a woodcut of it in his *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (p. 433). Describing the pillar, Mr. Fergusson says; 'its proportions are beautiful and its details in excellent taste ; but the mouldings of the base, which are those on which the Hindus were accustomed to lavish the utmost care, have been destroyed. Originally it is said to have supported a figure of Garuḍa, the Vāhana of Viṣṇu—and a figure is pointed out as the identical one. It may be so, and if it is the case, the pillar is of the 12th or 13th century'. My opinion of its date is different (see *ante*, p. [113]).

The figure of Garuḍa referred to above occurs in a ṭhākurbārī about a mile and a half away from the column. Sir John B. Phear has published a drawing of it, taken from a photograph. In commenting on it, he remarks : 'If you place the two photos side by side, it will be evident to you that the base, or platform, on which the Garuḍa now stands, never could have been a part of, or an addition to, the existing capital of the column : it is itself a capital, with appropriate mouldings, not a copy of, though closely resembling, the capital of the column. It is even open to doubt whether the Garuḍa itself ever could have formed the termination of the *lāṭ*, for the image appears to be too small to be capable of being seen with effect at the elevation of 37 feet, to which the *lāṭ* rises'[32]. This disposes of the question of the *lāṭ* being a Vaiṣṇavite monument, and with it must fall the theory about its age, founded upon its Vaiṣṇavite character.

Santa Madhava. At a mile and a half to the west of Yājapur, in a field, occurs a colossal figure which, when first noticed, appears half buried under earth. Sir John Phear had the place dug round the exposed portion and found the other half buried at a little distance. The two portions put together have been photographed, and a drawing thereof published in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society* for 1872, Plate III. The upper portion from the crown of the head to little below the navel, measures 9 ft. 1½ in. and the lower from the pubis to near the ancle 7 ft. 11 in. : the feet are lost. The measurements would give a total af about seventeen feet six inches for the entire figure. The figure is now called Śānta Mādhava, a name of Kṛṣṇa, but in reality it is an image of Padmapāṇi, the well-known Bodhisattva, holding by the left hand a lotus-stalk and bearing an image of Buddha on his head. It affords the most conclusive evidence of Yājapur having been a place of importance among the Buddhists before the bulk of its people became Hindu and of at least a good portion of the sculptures and architectural ruins now found there being of the Buddhist period.

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[31] Asiatic Researches, xv, 335.

[32] Proceedings, As. Soc. 1872, p. 32.

Place of Narapada. The next ancient relic of any importance now existing near Yājapur is a tumulus in a small village called Narapadā, two and a half miles to the south-east of the town. It is popularly described to be the ruins of the palace which Yayāti Keśarī had built here for his accommodation. It has, however, never been dug into and its true character is unknown. For aught we know it might turn out to be the remains of a Buddhist tope.

The onty other ancient relic in the neighbourhood of Yājapur is a bridge in the Village of Titulāmal. It is exactly of the same type as the Āṭhāranālā bridge at Puri ; but it is not so large, having only eleven arches, instead of eighteen.

Kopari. Forty-two miles to the south-east of Balasore, it lat. 20 *d.* 19 *s.* long. 86 *d.* 30 *s.*, there is a small village called Kopāri, and by it, on a level plain surrounded on three sides by low rocky hills, there are some ruins 'which exhibit the traces of an ancient Buddhist temple and Vihāra or monastery with a pleasure-ground or grove intervening. The Buddhist temple appears to have been destroyed and its materials used to erect a Brahmanical temple, dedicated to Śiva, whose emblems in a later style of art, some in fact comparatively modern, are found in abundance'[33]. The ruins have been described by Mr. Beams under three heads : 1st, the earlier building, **[160]** 2nd, an oblong platform, and 3rd, a narrow hall. With regard to the first, he says, 'it consists of a confused mass of laterite hewn stones of very great size,...a square of about 38 feet in length on each side. In what seems to have been the centre, is a huge square mass of laterite like an altar, about four feet high, and at each corner a small niche in one of which was an image of Māyā Devi. One of the other niches has been removed to a distance of about half a mile and set up on the edge of a tank, probably for purposes of Brahmanical worship ; the other two niches are overgrown with trees... this building I suppose to have been the original Buddhist temple and the altar probably sustained an image of Buddha of gigantic size, the mutilated remains of which have been set up in the village temple and are now worshipped as Baladeva'. The image of Māyâ Devi was shown to me and I read on the back of it the Buddhist creed inscribed in the Kuṭila character. This would give the date to be the 10th century or a little before ; but Mr. Beames thinks it highly probable that the image was dedicated long after the erection of the temple. Anyhow the Buddhist character of the ruins cannot be doubted. The tank is large and noted for retaining its water all round the year, though it is hewn in stone and only 6 feet deep.

'The second is an oblong platform of hewn stone, with the capitals of some large pillars lying on and around it. There are also on it a *liṅgam,* and images of Durgā, Nandi and Bhavānī, by some called Lakṣmī.

'The third is the best preserved portion of the whole. It is a long narrow hall with a sort of propylæum on the eastern side ; it is surrounded by pillars, most of which are still standing, though battered and worn by rain so much that their original design is almost untraceable. It can be seen, however, that they were octagonal, with a capital consisting of a double round-headed fillet'. Close by, at the root of the hills, there are a large mud fort and several cave temples dedicated to Bhairava and Bāsuki, from which images and statues of Durgā, Narasiṃha and other goddesses and gods have been brought to adorn the village shrine.

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[33] JAṢB, xl. 248.

Assia Hills. To the south of Yājapur, at a distance of about a mile, the low range of hills, more or less detached, which forms the Eastern Ghats, bears the name of Āssiā *alias* Ālti hills. It runs in a south-easterly direction in the Ālamgir estate of Pargunnah Ālti, throwing out spurs towards the west and the east. Near the centre of the range, lower than the surrounding heights, there is an open space, which communicates with the plains towards the east. This passage forms, as it were, the key to the fortified places on the peaks. The range is accessible from the village of Bar-canā on the Trunk-Road, and is about 27 miles to the north-east of Cuttack'[34]. The ancient Hindu name of this range is Catus-piṭha, Uriya, Cārpulī, the hill of four seats or shrines, so called because four of its peaks are the most prominent. The names of these four peaks are : 1, Muṇḍaka, 2, Udayagiri, 3, Acala-basanta, 4, Barodihī.

Mundaka Hill. The first of the four peaks owes its name to the circumstance of the rite of ordeal by rice (maṇḍa) having been performed there, but it is now known by the name of Ālamgir Hill. It is the highest of the four, being 2,500 feet above the level of the surrounding country. On its crest stands a mosque, built by Shujauddin Muhammad, in the Hijra year 1132, i. e. A. D. 1719-20. The monument is of no pretension, measuring only 29 ft. x 19 ft. x 9 ft. 4 in. It is covered in, not by a dome as stated by Babu Chandrasekhara Banurji, but by two arching roofs terminating in a ridge with a *Kalasa* at each end. This arrangement is very like that of an ordinary hut, only the roofs are more arched near their spring than what obtains in thatched roofs. The frieze over the doorway of the mosque is of chlorite and on it are inscribed three couplets in Persian, which supply the name of the dedicator and date[35]. 'The mosque faces the east and in front there is a platform surrounded by a thick wall with a gate. Towards the west, high and rough rocks overlook the building. But to its north, a high terrace has been raised for the reception of darveshes and pilgrims'. The structure is, on the whole, very common-place, if not mean, but it commands the benefit of a legend which endows it with a high measure of sanctity. According to the story as related to Babu Chandrasekhara Banurji, when Muhammad was once travelling in mid air on his miraculous throne, the time for prayer appeared, and he descended on the top of the hill to attend to his religious duty. Finding no water ready at hand to perform the necessary ablutions before prayer, he struck the earth with his wand and a bubbling fountain immediately sprung up. Thus was the hill made most sacred. Mr. Beames was informed that it was Solomon, and not Muhammad, who had descended on the hill. Certain it is that the story of the miraculous carpet is connected with the elder prophet, and Mr. Beames' informant was more plausible. But as the story is, in either case, a myth, it is of no importance ; particularly as it did not serve to raise the place to any consequence until the 17th century, when a Darvesh took possession of it and daily recited his call to prayer from its stupendous eminence. The army of Shuja-uddin, when marching to Cuttack, **[161]** was encamped in the neighbourhood, heard the call, and the prince, on his return from his successful expedition, caused the mosque to be built.

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[34] JASB, xxxix. 158.

[35] Ib., xliv. 21.

The fountain occurs on the south side—a small shallow hole, about 10 by 8 by 3 feet. The story is that it was perennial before, but it dried up because a soldier of Shuja-uddin outraged near it the modesty of a female pilgrim to the shrine.

Udayagiri. Udayagiri or 'the sunrise hill' is so called because it is the point in all Orissa, on which the sunlight first becomes visible in the morning. It is a well-wooded conical mound with three spurs and forms the most eastern peak of the range. Beyond it, to the east, is the River Kāliyā, and thence a flat, sandy plain stretches as far as sea. The Uriyas believe that the sea formerly laved the foot of the hill[36]. The foot is now a sloping, bare, laterite plain, and on its edge, says Chandrasekhara Banurji, 'it is caught by a colossal image of Buddha half covered in jungle and a portion buried under the earth. It is fully nine feet in height, the length from the knee to the head being seven feet'. The figure is cut in high relief on a single slab of rough chlorite, holding a large lotus in the left hand : the nose and right hand are mutilated. The ears, arms, wrists and breast are decorated with ornaments and the clothe round the waist is fastened with three chains answering to the *goṭe* of the present day, worn tight like a belt'[37]. Mr. Beames also calls this image 'a statue of Buddha upwards of 8 feet high'. He adds a profile of its bust, which has been reproduced in Plate LIX. On this profile there is a small figure of a Buddha on the head of the image, which neither of my authorities has noticed. From it and from the ornaments and the lotus in the left hand it is obvious that the image is of Padmapānī, the renowned Bodhisattva, and not of Buddha himself.

Ascending the sloping plain, and close by a gumphā or cave temple, the traveller comes to a tank or Bāpi, (bāoli) cut in the rock. It is a square of 23 feet, and 28 feet deep from the surface of the plain to the level of the water ; the depth of the water has not been measured. The ground round the tank has been levelled to from a terrace 94 ft 6 in. x 38 ft. 11 in. The entrance to the terrace is flanked by two monolithic pillars, and its sides are edged with a berm surmounted by a line of battlements of large blocks of dressed stone, each 3 feet high and rounded on the top. This arrangement is also repeated round the tank. Access to the tank is had by a flight of 31 steps, each 3 feet long. The rock between the lowest step and the tank has been cut into arch, and on its face there is an inscription in the Kuṭila type, each letter being six to eight inches long. Babu Chandrasekhara Banurji reads this record somewhat differently from the version given by Mr. Beames. The principal word in it is Brajalāl or Brajalā, obviously the name of a person. It is repeated in another part of the well in the some way.

'About fifty feet higher up in the jungle', continues Babu Chandrasekhara, 'there is another platform on which once stood a sanctuary of Buddha. Numbers of images of gods

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36. Ib., xxxix. 163. 37. Ib., 164.

and goddesses, engraved on slabs of different shapes, are scattered around. A group, with heads and arms mutilated, is still worshipped by the people, who have succeeded in effacing all traces of its original character, by painting the figures with repeated layers of vermillion and turmeric'[38]. Here occurs a small gateway of superior workmanship. The following is Mr. Beames' description of this beautiful piece of art-work : 'It consists of two upright slabs of stone, supporting a third as lintel. The dimensions are : Height of opening 5 ft. 5 in., breadth of *ditto* 2 ft. 3½ in., thickness of stone 1 ft. 3½ in. The two sides jambs are divided into bands separated by grooves three-fourth of an inch wide, and 2·75 inches deep. The panel or band nearest the doorway is carved with a continuous wavy creeper upon which human figures are climbing in grotesque attitude ; from the excessively *nitambinī* outlines they are probably intended for females'. (In the plate published by Mr. Beames, the figures appear to be monkeys, much like the scroll shown in Fig. 28 Plate XII, Vol. I, from the Mukteśvara temple). "The next band has a columnar type....The pilaster of the column is adorned with intricate arabesques and lions' heads. The next band is divided into tablets, each of which contains a beautifully carved group of a male and a female figure engaged in, what I may venture to call, flirtation of an active kind"[39]. The fourth is formed of a string of large flowers. In the centre of the band on the lintel there is a figure of Buddha with, on each side, an elephant with its trunk raised over the head of the central figure. Over this band there is an oblong pediment set off with eight circular openings arranged in two rows. On each side of this pediment there is a stool, shaped like a *morā,* and on it is a seated figure of Buddha in meditation. On the tops of the side posts there are also oblong pediments, with a bas-relief of a female figure in a flying position. The general character of this gate is similar to that of the Koṇārak porch, but not nearly so well or so richly carved. The gate has been removed by Mr. Beames to Cuttack where it has been set up in the public garden.

[162] 'About 16 feet beyond the gate, behind a narrow passage blocked up by brambles, there is a cell 9 feet square and as many feet deep. In this a large image of Buddha is placed in a sitting and meditating posture. It is 5 feet 6 inches long from waist to head. The face itself is 1 ft. 6 in. x 1 ft. 5 in., and the breast 3 feet 6 inches broad. It is made of three pieces of bluish chlorite. The head is formed of one piece, the neck down to the breast of another, and all below of a third'[40]. A drawing of this Buddha is given in Plate LIX.

The third peak of the Āssiā range is called Acala-basanta or 'Eternal Spring' from the circumstance of its being more thickly covered with vegetation than the others. At its foot there are the ruins of a large edifice, once the dwelling of a hill chief ; but they are in such a condition that no idea can be formed of the character of the building.

The last peak is Baradihi. On it once dwelt a chief who was a washerman by caste. His dwelling is all in ruins now and his descendant a pauper. Mr. Beames assigns this name to the peak on which is located the mosque of Shuja-uddin.

Nalti Hill. Close by the Āssiā range, and separated from it by the Birūpā river, is an isolated hill with two unequal peaks, called Nālti. It was here that Solomon first alighted from mid-air, but his throne was too heavy and his retinue too large for the hill ; and so it began to sink, and the prophet, in a fit of vaxation, pronounced a curse (*l'anat*) on it, whence its name. This was the derivation given to Babu Chandrasekhara Banurji ; but Mr. Beames questions its correctness. He is of opinion that the name is a diminutive of Ālti : Anu Ālti or little Ālti in contradistinction to the Āssiā which is the Ālti,—in the same way in which the two pargannahs of Avartak and Anāvartak are distinguished[41]. This appears to be the most probable derivation.

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[38] Ib., 165. [39] Ib., xliv. 23. [40] Ib., xxxix. 167.

The hill was long in the occupation of Buddhists and contains several relies of their sanctuaries. One of these occurs on a bold prominence of the lower one of the two peaks. It is the basement of a porch to a temple. At its corners are monolithic pillars 7 to 8 feet in height, still *in situ*. The temple has been reduced into amorphous ruin. Another occurs in the pass between the two peaks. This consists 'of a porch and a cella surmounted by a small pyramidal tower'. This is in a better state of preservation. The roof of the porch has given way ; but that of the cella still stands. It has no columns and is formed of solid walls with niches in the interior for five figures of Buddha, or Ananta Puruṣottama, as the people on the spot call them. The figures are all erect and cut in high relief ; they are about five feet in height and each holds in the left hand a lotus with a long stem. The other hand is mutilated ; so is the nose. 'The eyes have all a meek expression and the curled hair is tied with a fillet round the middle of the head. The ears, breast, arms and wrists have ornaments. There are inscriptions on the stone behind the shoulders and in one instance near the feet'[42]. The inscriptions were filled up with dust and partly covered by the wall when Babu Chandrasekhara Banurji saw them, and no facsimile could be taken. Mr. Beames communicated to the Asiatic Society of Bengal a drawing of one of the images, and it has been reproduced on Plate LIX. It will be seen therefrom that, though described by both the writers as of Buddha, the images are in reality of the Bodhisattva Padmapānī.

On the higher peak there are ruins of two edifices, one at a height of 500 feet and the other over a thousand feet. The first includes a ruined cave called Hāthi-khāl, or elephant hole, and six figures of Padmapānī, each about four feet in height from the knee and having the creed *ye dharma hetu* cut in the Kuṭala character. Near about there are scattered fragments of a great number of statues. The second comprises the ruins of a temple of which the basement alone was found *in situ*. Round about were scattered a great number of carved stones including an inscription in ten lines. The last was removed by Babu Chandrasekhara Banurji and made over to me with a view to decypher it. It comprises about one-fifth of the right side of the record and is so weather-worn that it cannot be read.

Mahavinayaka Hill. Further to the south, still on the Ālamgir range, occurs a peak known under the name of Mahāviṇāyaka or Bāruṇibāṇṭā Hill—a wild place covered by primitive forests and but sparingly peopled by the aboriginal Sawārs or Śavaras. It is included in the estate of Killā Darpan and hence often called Darpaṇa. There is nothing here to interest the antiquarian ; but pilgrims resort to it as the place sacred to Gaṇeśa. The sanctuary is situated half way up the hill, on the basement of an ancient temple, its walls and roof being modern. Close by it there is a block of rounded stone, about 12 feet in circumference at the top, and carved in front. The carving include in the centre, the head of an elephant, on the right that of Śiva, and on the left that of Gaurī. The first is fairly well-carved ; the other two are exceedingly rude ; but what they want in carving is made up by the vermillion of the priest. The elephant head passes for Gaṇeśa and the block is worshipped as the union of Śiva, Gaurī and Gaṇeśa. Gaṇeśa, however, being in the centre, the place is looked upon as especially sacred to him, and called Viṇāyaka Kṣetra. About 30 feet higher up this [163] spot there is a tiny water-fall and some *liṅgams* canopied by the foliage of the surrounging trees. The sanctuary and its surroundings have no pretension to any antiquity ; but, it is said, the venaration for them is increasing with the increase of their age.

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[41] Ib., xliv. 20. [42] Ib., xxxix. 159.

Chatia Hill. Going further south, within 16 miles of Cuttack, the traveller comes to a range of hills, which, from its proximity of the village of that name on the Trunk Road, is called Chatiā. On the eastern side of it, close at its foot, one of the Uriya kings of the Gangetic line built his capital, and called it after the heavenly palace of Indra, 'Amarāvatī. The hill too obtained the same name, but that name is now not much used. The palace and its surrounding fortifications are said to have once covered an area of over two miles. The walls of the fort made of laterite and four feet thick, are still prominent in many places ; but the bulk of the stones, both of the palace and the fort, has been removed by the Vandals of the Public Works Department, who have utilized it in paving the Trunk Road. A high platform with portions of broken walls and a number of pillars and capitals lying scattered here and there, now mark the site of the palace. On another platform were found two images of Indrānī, and within a short distance of the ruins there is a large tank called Nīlapokhara[43].

Fifteen miles to the north of the last, at Dharamśālā on the Brāmaṇī river, Mr. Beames noticed a stone temple with a pillared chaultry in front, dedicated to Gokarneśvara Mahādeva[44] ; but in a artistic or antiquarian point of view it contains nothing worthy of note.

Kapilas Hill. To the north-west of Cuttack, at a distance, as the crow flies, of 15 miles, there is a hill described in the *Kapila Saṃhitā* under the name of Kailāsa, which has since been corrupted to Kapilās. It is also called Śambhu Kṣetra. It is the south easternly spur of the Dhenkānal Garjāt Hills, and said to be a little over 2,000 feet in height. Its crest is about half a mile long and 250 yards broad, bare of vegetation and devoid of water. Its sides are, however, well clothed with a variety of trees and contain several fountains of sweet water. Four hundred feet below the crest there is a temple dedicated to Śiva under the name of Śikhareśvara or Candraśekhara. The image in the temple is that of a *liṅgam*. Close by is a fountain of limpid water, which is held in high estimation for its sanctity. The story runs that a king of the name of Sudāsa, in remote antiquity, performed here a rigorous penance for many years and obtained from Śiva a personal visit ; and the place on the crest of the hill derived its sanctity from that circumstance. It is the sacred abode of Śiva and his consort, and a visit to it, as usual, is a sure expiation for even the most heinous sins that man can commit. The water of the fountain is the ambrosia of heaven in disguise. The temple is probably 8 or 9 hundred years old ; but it has nothing to interest the antiquarian. Lately a proposition was made to establish here a sanitarium for the European Officers of Cuttack, Puri and Balasore.

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[43] Ib., 169. [44] Ib., xli 8.

Cuttack. The word Kaṭaka in Sanskrit has, among other meanings, that of an army and of a metropolis. The former of these was communicated to the Jesuit missionary, Pere Tieffenthaler, a wag embellishing it by adding that the place of the name (Anglicé Cuttack) was so called from the circumstance of Rāma having encamped his army there on his journey to Ceylon, This is, however, not acknowledged by the Uriyas. They accept the latter meaning, and say there are seven Kaṭakas in Orissa. The 1st is Yājapur, where Yayāti Keśarī first established his metropolis. The 2nd is Puri, to which he removed when he had established his authority in the centre of the province. The 3rd is Bhuvaneśvara, where he settled about the close of his reign. The 4th is Biḍānasī on the fork between the left bank of the Mahānadī and the Kāṭjurī, to which Nṛpa Keśarī removed the metropolis in 985-953 A. D. The 5th Sārangaḍ, to which Mādhava Keśarī removed the capital between 971-989 A. D. The 6th is Chauduār on the left bank of the Mahānadī, where Anaṅgabhīma held his court ; and the 7th is Chatiā, where he put up for a time. Of these the last four are frequently and promiscuously called Kaṭaka. Three of them are now in ruins, and the 4th alone deserves a passing notice.

According to the *Temple Annals*, Nṛpa Keśarī, anxious to immortalise himself by founding a new capital, selected Biḍānasī at the point where the Mahānadī throws out the Kāṭjurī to the west of the present town of Cuttack, as strategically the most secure, and having the advantage of two navigable rivers for commercial purposes. The site did not, however, prove the most convenient. It was subject to inundations from the two rivers ; and his son Makara Keśarī (955-961 A. D.) found it necessary to protect the new capital by an extensive revetment along the left bank of the Kāṭjurī. The evil was not, however, entirely overcome, and Mādhva Keśarī, the grandson of the last, was obliged to fly from the capital and establish a new metropolis on the other side of the Kāṭjurī, away from the river bank. This he named Sāraṇgaḍ. A few **[164]** reigns after, when Anaṅgabhīma was once cruising in the Mahānadī, he saw in the village of Cauduār, a common crane (*vaka*) sitting over a large hawk (*syamala*) which it had killed. He took this to be a sign of the special goodness of the place and established his metropolis there. The word Biḍānasī is a corruption of Vārāṇasī, the sacred city on the Ganges, and the place was named Benares in accordance with the policy which made the Keśarīs and the Gangetic kings reproduce in Orissa all the sacred places of the earth. Biḍānasī stretched along the Mahānadī as far as the present English Church (Plate LX). The present town is due to the Musulmans, who settled to the west of the old town, which was gradually forsaken, particularly as the Kāṭjurī threw up a large sand bank in front of the town, and rendered access to it by the river difficult.

The new town has been fully described Dr. Hunter in his *Orissa,* and also in his *Statistical Account of Bengal,* Vol. XVIII, and no further notice is necessary. The antiquities of the old town have all disappeared under the ravages of time and little can be said of them. The only masonry work of note now existing is the revetment on the bank of the Kāṭjurī. It is built throughout of laterite and extends to a length of nearly two miles, with an average depth of 25 feet without reckoning the foundation. It is a noble piece of engineering work, and worthy of high admiration. The only other work which had come down to the 19th century was the fort of Bārabāti, which protected the old city from the land side. This was broken down by the English Government to supply materials partly for the erection of the False Point Light House, and partly for metal for the paving of the city roads. When I visited the place there was nothing left of it except a part of a gateway and I can add nothing to the account of it given by Dr. Hunter.

In the *Ain-i-Akbari,* mention is made of a nine-storeyed palace build in Cuttack by Mukunda Deva, in the middle of the 16th century. The description runs thus : 'In Cuttack there is a fine palace, built by Raja Mukund Deo, consisting of nine storeys. The first storey is for etephants, camels and horses ; the second for artillery and military stores, where also are quarters for the guards and other attendants ; the third is occupied by porters and watchmen ; the fourth is appropriated for the several artificers ; the kitchens make the fifth range ; the sixth contains the Raja's public apartments ; the seventh is for the transaction of private business ; the eighth is where the women reside ; and the ninth is the Raja's sleeping apartment'[45]. Commenting on this passage Mr. Fergusson says, 'As Orissa at the period when this was written was practically a part of Akbar's kingdom, there seems little doubt that this description was furnished by some one who knew the place. There are seven storeyed palaces at Jeypur and Bijapur still standing, which were erected about this date, and of five storeys in Akbar's own palace at Futtehpore Sikri, but none, so far as I know, of nine storeys, though I see no reason for doubting the correctness of the description of the one just quoted'[46].

To me the description appeared on the face of it to be incorrect. I could not well believe that any sensible person—one who would build a nine-storeyed palace—would locate his artillery and guards in the second storey of residence, or his kitchen just under his public reception rooms, and his artificers below his kitchen. The retinue of the Rājā including all his grooms, camel-drivers, elephant-keepers, guards, attendants, porters, watchmen, artificers and domestics, must have numbered by thousands and it was difficult to believe that they were all accommodated in the several storeys of one building. I referred, therefore, to the original text of the *Ain*, and it at once solved the difficulty. The words used in it are 'Raja Mukund Deo built a palace of nine *ashianahs*'. (Blochmann's Text, p. 392). Now, *ashianah* in Arabic means a nest, an abode, as in the word 'the abode of felicity', (a title of the *Porte,*) a suit of rooms, a layer, and the sense in which it has been used in the passage is that of dwellings ranged side by side, and not in storeys, i.e. the nests or layers were lateral and not perpendicular. The word in common use for a courtyard in India is *Mahal,* and ordinary respectable houses include two such, one forming the outer apartments for men and the other the inner apartments for the ladies of the house. Houses of rich men include four, five, or more such courtyards, and the Kaisarbagh palace of Oudh comprised eighteen. In the *Toy Cart,* written nearly two thousand years ago, a description is given of a rich courtesan's house which comprised seven such yards. Indian works on architecture recommend this arrangement as the best for rich houses, and it is obvious that the palace of Mukunda Deva had nine such courtyards. Mr. Gladwin mistook the purport of the word *ashianah*, and by using the English word storey produced the confusion, and Mr. Fergusson, by appealing to dubious analogies, has given it an air of *vraisemblance*. No vestige of the palace is, however, traceable, and no conclusive evidence can be collected on the subject.

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[45] Gladwin's Tr., ii. 13

[46] 'Indian and Eastern Architecture', 433.

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